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THE PARADOX OF DUTCH EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL STUDY.

by

Annette Elisabeth Richardson ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

History of Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1995

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE PARADOX OF DUTCH EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL STUDY submitted by Annette Elisabeth Richardson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Education.

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I wish to dedicate this study to the memories of three extraordinary teachers:

J. Gordin Kaplan

Mary Hill

George A. Rothrock Jr.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to inform the English language audience about the rich history of Dutch education with an emphasis on twentieth century secondary educational reform. Around 1800 the Dutch were leading Western Europe with their modern and innovative pedagogical methods but over the next one hundred and fifty years their system became stagnant. Only after World War II was Dutch secondary education reformed with the 1963 Secondary Education Act, nicknamed the Mammoth Act. However, after waiting one hundred years to reform the secondary level of education, unfortunately this Act only accomplished administrative change and cannot be considered a pedagogical improvement. The reasons for the ineffectiveness of the Mammoth Act are analyzed in this study and concludes that before 1970 strong societal forces prevented Dutch secondary education from modernizing.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

A. THE STUDY

In 1956 the Dutch educational system was described by E. M. Buter, a senior assistant at the University of Amsterdam's Pedagogic-Didactic Institute, as "a lovely chaos."[1] Certainly, at least until the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, the organization of Dutch education was extremely complex, more so than that of any other country in Europe. This complexity had its roots deep in the peculiar history of the Netherlands. It will be the task of this study to lay those roots bare, to explain how the "chaos" arose and why it persisted for so long. Education does not exist in a vacuum and therefore this endeavour will require careful examination of the religious, political, social and economic factors that promote or inhibit educational change. While the earlier history of Dutch education will be reviewed, the main emphasis will be upon the 20th century up to 1970 with a particular focus on the Mammoth Act of 1963. The study will concentrate primarily on secondary education but not exclusively as one level of schooling inevitably impacts upon the others.

This study can be justified on several grounds. In the first place Dutch education has a lengthy and rich history that should be better known than it is in the English speaking world. Very little has appeared in English about the subject and even in the Netherlands where a vast literature exists, an adequate comprehensive overview and thorough analysis from a historical perspective are still awaited. Most of the Dutch material focuses on the 19th century period but is generally very fragmented. There are many detailed topical studies and articles on small segments of the story, but this fragmentation is insufficient and deleterious for the researcher. Moreover, Dutch educational historians have tended to write from a narrative and factual approach without much in the way of critical comment.

Secondly, Dutch educational history affords a classic and instructive example of the close relationship between educational development on one hand and political, economic, religious and social factors on the other. Thirdly, Dutch education has been and still is the subject of considerable controversy. There are those who assert that Dutch educational reform has not really achieved a great deal to this point. The Secondary Education Act of 1963 (The Mammoth Act), it is roundly alleged, was ineffective but no study analyses why this was so. In the Netherlands effective educational change only commenced with the Educational Acts in the 1980s and 1990s. These changes led to the establishment of a partial comprehensive school system. Implementation of educational reform, it has been said, has been excruciatingly slow and somewhat regressive to this point. But the traditional system still has its vocal defenders and in between are those optimists who maintain that significant change has in fact been accomplished. There is a need to examine the post war Dutch experience thoroughly so that this controversy can hopefully be put to rest. Finally, there is much in the Dutch experience that will fascinate foreign educators, both radical and conservative alike. For example, the century's old special education system with its wide range of services is worthy of its own study. The Dutch vocational training schools are among the best in the world and provide outstanding training that is scarcely matched elsewhere. Finally, this pioneering effort will synthesize the material for the first time in English and should prove useful to a far wider audience than a Dutch language translation; it can be useful to the general public and also to the international educational community. It might also prove beneficial to the Dutch to have their secondary system analysed from a non-Dutch perspective. In this day of instant communication we need to be aware of the systems of each country so that we can learn from and avoid each other's mistakes. As well, since there are sometimes profound cultural and societal differences, the educational disparities between countries can be used as a tool for implementation of reforms elsewhere. This study will explain the intricacies and complexities of both the Dutch secondary educational system and some aspects of the system as a whole. This dissertation can be used as a didactic and analytical tool through which one can learn not only from the educational experience of past generations but also of a system that is unique in its development. Thus, the study should make a significant contribution to Comparative Education and the History of Education; it intends to fill the existing gap and extend knowledge about the history of Dutch education that other historians have not explored.

---

[1] E.M. Buter, "Winds of Change in Education" The New Era no.47 (June 1966): 115.

B. LIMITATIONS

Since a complete historical overview of Dutch education is beyond the scope of a single dissertation, the reforms of the 1970s to 1990s, except for a succinct overview, have been excluded for these events require their own historian. The elementary and post secondary sections of Dutch education necessarily will be included in so far as they affect and are affected by developments at the secondary level. Nor will the dissertation deal with the history of curriculum, except to suggest variation among the schools; curriculum will only be included in depicting the various types of schools and where it impacts on structural reform. There will be little concentration either on the details of day to day school activity or the history of particular institutions. The careers of individual educators, or the theories of education used by Dutch pedagogues will be noted only to indicate that the system was not monolithic, that there was some dissent with official legislation. Thus, this project will not attempt to embrace everything; the nucleus will centre around the historical development with the strongest emphasis on the post World War II changes. Dutch sources indicate that the secondary system has changed more in the last 50 years than throughout its entire history; questions posed by this suggestion certainly warrant closer examination.

C. TERMINOLOGY

For purposes of this study, pre school will represent the kindergartens or nursery schools which children aged three to six attended. The term elementary will represent schools for children aged six to 12, although in the Netherlands it ranged to age 16. Ages 13 to 15 will be considered the years for junior secondary education while ages 16 to 18 will be considered senior secondary education. Post secondary education is for those over age 18. As well, the terminology and synonyms used within the Dutch educational community are extremely confusing. Terms that would not apply to the North American educational system appear frequently in Dutch educational literature and need clarification, especially for those not familiar with the Dutch language. Accordingly Appendix A - Glossary - has been included to define the English meaning of pertinent Dutch terms so that the information is clear to the reader. Likewise English titles will be used throughout the study but both the original Dutch title as well as the English title will be indicated in the accompanying footnotes and bibliography.

The main difficulty with this study was the subtle nuances of both the Dutch and English languages; some words simply cannot be translated and lose their meaning so that, unless one is fluent, flawed analysis results. One example of translation difficulties is the term beroep that translated can mean both vocation and profession; one has also to understand the context of the sentence to properly use the term, BO, for it can mean non-academic, vocational or professional schools or programs. The categorization also presents a problem if some student is asked which school he or she attends. The student might answer MEAO that means Secondary Economic and Administrative School at the middle level. Similarly LHNO means Lower Domestic Science School at the lower level; both are what in North America would be considered high school level. Obviously knowing where the category of the particular school fits is crucial to understanding the system.

Educrat is another term that sounds odd in the English language but it means educational bureaucrat; it is very appropriate when referring to the nearly 3,000 staff members of the Ministry of Education in the Netherlands. The Dutch language is also selective in the terms it uses to describe the term "teacher." Whereas in English there is only one term for teacher in the Netherlands there are two: one for onderwijzer and another for leraar. An onderwijzer teaches at the lower levels while a leraar teaches at the senior secondary and lower post secondary levels. A leraar is the more respected of the two. The Dutch accordingly divide their teacher training schools into these categories. Likewise the term voorbereidend, which means preparatory and would be redundant in the English language, is used to indicate that a student is in a school leading to university. So VWO, voortgezet wetenschappelijk onderwijs, for example, means preparatory academic education. The term wetenschappelijk which the Dutch generally incorrectly translate into English as scientific is more accurately translated as academic or scholarly. Quite often books are published in two versions, one for the general public and the other is a scholarly version which includes footnotes, appendices and a bibliography. The multi volume series by Louis de Jong concerning the Dutch war experiences is a good example of this practice.

The terms "private" and "public" do not mean the same thing in the Dutch education system as they do elsewhere. In the English language public schooling generally refers to state controlled financed schools. In the Netherlands all schools are financed by the state irrespective of their denominational or secular foundations. The Dutch educational system is divided into four categories: public meaning schools that are governed by a local (usually municipal) board, private pertains to schools administered by private boards. Roman Catholic and Protestant affiliations have their own schools and they govern these with their own boards. These denominational schools are in effect private but the Dutch in all their statistics and academic literature always refer to these two denominational categories separately. To avoid confusion, these terms will be used throughout this study using the Dutch meaning. It is important that the reader suspend his or her English definitions of terms and apply them as the Dutch do, otherwise the complexity of this study intensifies.

The reader must also suspend judgment if he or she shares the stereotypical view of the Dutch as a liberal, progressive and a tolerant nation.[2] This study will refute this assumption and show repeatedly, that this view is a facade that is exposed rapidly when examining the Dutch educational system. Dutch historiography continuously refers to the term "pillarization,"[3] which has been used by both Dutch writers in English as well as English writers on the subject, and will be used throughout this study to indicate the quadripartite societal segmentation or compartmentalization that is so very pervasive in the Netherlands. If one uses the terms segmentation or compartmentalization something is lost in the translation and these terms do not quite have the same meaning as "pillarization." The term may not make sense in English but is the only one that can be correctly applied and certainly characterizes how the Dutch view their society. As Denis Kallen states:

> The "VERZUILING" i.e. the system of politico-religious compartmentalisation of Dutch education into public, Roman Catholic, Protestant and "neutral private" sectors , is the most fundamental and the most "untouchable" characteristic of Dutch education. It holds a profoundly divided nation together in a carefully balanced legal and organisational structure that leaves everybody-i.e. every "*zuil* or "column" - free in respect of everything concerning his "principles"

---

[2] In several informal discussions with at least 25 people per group (Dutch and non-Dutch) the idea that the Dutch were tolerant, liberal and progressive was firmly held.

[3] Using the noun pillar as a verb may seem odd but quite a number of Dutch translations have adopted this term and the English language writers have adopted it as well. The meaning is that the four pillars support the societal structure of Dutch society and that it is split into four quite separate world views.

> and "inner convictions", thanks to an unbelievably complex set of zealously defended rights and guarantees on the one hand, and to a meticulously developed, and zealously applied system of rules for financing, management and control, on the other.[4]

If others disagree that this nation has a liberal, progressive and tolerant mind set that the entire societal strata shares, the Dutch become quite insistent that those people are ill informed and do not understand Dutch society, that one needs to be Dutch to understand its history and societal relations. This view in part dates from the 1795 Constitution when the Dutch were granted individual liberties. Some Dutch academics, while appearing quite liberal on the surface, are quite condescending. The best explanation for the Dutch mind set as explained by Kallen, especially for the educational system and its historical development, is to apply the what sociologists term functionalism. This is the paradox of Dutch education. Functionalists believe that man needs to be controlled, yet through a consensus for major reforms by all elements of society, (which seems liberal and tolerant and progressive), they maintain the status quo of their societal constitutions. That is not to say that the Dutch are socially conservative, after all they believe in legalized prostitution, euthanasia and supplying drugs to addicts, but this is done in order to control these elements. These examples alone infer that functionalism is pervasive.

It will be argued throughout this study that the Dutch practiced functionalism in their education system, at least up to 1970. Functionalism is a school of thought rather than a theory and has a wide range of conceptual definitions.[5] On the whole it entails a categorized pattern of relationships among individuals, thus the notion of structural functionalism that pertains to the collective cannot apply. Consciously or unconsciously the Dutch have put their own spin on functionalism but there is no denying that functionalism mirrors the social structure the Dutch use in their concept of samenleving-a traditional view of Dutch society that also cannot easily be translated.[6] Functionalism is defined as follows:

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[4] Denis Kallen, The Future of Education in the Netherlands (Amsterdam: European Cultural Foundation, 1980), 21-22.

[5] See Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action 1 (New York: The Free Press, 1937), "An analytical approach to the theory of structural stratification," Essays in Sociological Theory (New York: The Free Press: 66-88) and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the concept of function in social science," American Anthropologist 37 (July-September 1937): 395-402.

> The analysis of social and cultural phenomena in terms of the functions they perform in a sociocultural system. In functionalism, society is conceived of as a system of interrelated parts in which no part can be understood in isolation from the whole. A change in any part is seen as leading to a certain degree of imbalance, which in turn results in changes in other parts of the system and to some extent to a reorganization of the system as a whole.[7]

In this system everyone has a place, each person fits into a category and is labelled, especially in the school system, based on their political, social and economic origins. Functionalism thus presents a very conservative view of society that belies the very idea of a liberal and tolerant nation. While researching this material the initial reaction to this discovery was to ignore this pervasive element but it is so ubiquitous, from the structure itself to the Dutch historiography and statistics, (as will be illustrated) that it will necessarily be reflected throughout this study especially in quotations from Dutch sources. Ultimately functionalism is an exclusionary practise that marginalizes people; moreover, it is concomitantly socially dysfunctional. Insistence on maintaining this type of society causes mediocrity of the educational system, as will be indicated in this study. Dutch persistence in maintaining this type of society caused the problems inherent in this chaotic education system. Yet one could argue inversely that if a society practices functionalism chaos cannot occur; again this is the spin the Dutch use and both factors working side by side will be proved repeatedly because functionalism causes the chaos. Above all, functionalism has a macro focus and since this is a history of the Dutch secondary education system some aspects of this theory will be pervasive throughout this study. Even though functionalism is now largely an outdated practise it surprisingly has nevertheless prevailed in the Dutch educational sector.

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[6] Samenleving can be translated to mean a variety of terms: societal and society being the most common. It can mean society as a whole, it can also mean that everyone has a place in society. It can mean structure and history. Use of the word depends entirely upon the context of the sentence. There is no adequate English word that could provide a correct translation. Another word that appears even more frequently is maatschappij also meaning society but organized through government rather than the more familial samenleving.

[7] George A. Theodorson and Achilles S. Theodorson, eds., A Modern Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969), 167.

D. AIM

This study will have a fivefold aim. One is to enlighten those unfamiliar with the Dutch system about its complexities and the intricacies of the societal components. Two, to combine for the first time in English and concomitantly indicate the major Dutch sources heretofore unknown to the English audience. However this study is not intended to be a mere translation of Dutch sources, that would not be conducive to promoting academia. Thirdly, it will explore the origins of the many themes or trends, through the broader context, that have created the complexities of the Dutch educational system and tie them together through historical analysis. Fourthly, the intention is to illustrate that the post war reform that has occurred in the secondary educational level has not changed the system significantly, rather it simply recategorized and further segmented the society. Fifthly, through analysing the history of the educational system, again largely focussed on the secondary level, the theory that the Dutch are progressive in their educational system will be dispelled; rather it will be illustrated that they are governed by an outdated functionalism that is quite contrary to their perceived liberal reputation. The resulting ambiguities of the educational system will expose the contradictions and the internecine jealousies and culminate with a discussion of the problems the Dutch will likely never solve mainly because they do not know how to. It will be argued that the attempts at secondary educational reform have largely been ineffective precisely because of this paradox.

E. ORGANIZATION

After this introductory chapter, the study begins with an account of the Dutch educational system about 1960, particularly in regard to secondary education. This account, which is contained in Chapter II, will immediately alert the reader to the complexity and magnitude of the problems confronting Dutch educators in the years after the Second World War. Then Chapter III reaches back into Dutch history to explain how the educational system evolved since the Middle Ages. The chapter contains a review of medieval schooling, the impact of the Reformation and the Calvinist ascendancy, the long war against Spain, the economic prosperity of the Dutch Golden Age and the later catastrophic decline, the French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Occupation of the Netherlands. There is also a discussion at some length of the educational reforms attempted by legislation in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Chapter IV examines the ordeal of the Netherlands and especially its educational community during the Nazi Occupation of 1940-1945. The traumatic experience inevitably had considerable influence on Dutch thought. Chapter V considers postwar reconstruction of the educational system leading up to the 1963 Secondary Education Act, a detailed account of which is contained in Chapter VI. Chapter VII deals with the implementation of the Act over the next four years and gives reasons why it did not achieve in practice the changes for which educational reformers were hoping. The eighth and final chapter attempts to draw the threads together and draw conclusions from the Dutch educational experience. The study includes appendices to illustrate points made in the text, and various charts and tables to assist the reader.

F. SOURCES

Since only a few germane English language sources are available, the material provided by the Dutch educational community will be the major source for analysis. Considering the universality of education it is not surprising that voluminous amounts of material are written daily especially from an international perspective. However, the paucity of English-language information concerning Dutch education is surprising; little is available in the way of thorough scholarship and measured treatment. Smatterings of articles in academic journals are complemented by adumbrated pages in succinct but shallow educational encyclopaedias. Ultimately one has to search extensively for a few meagre sources. The extant material is unfortunately so diverse that envisioning the macro educational system today much less the historical development of Dutch education is impossible. Moreover, these sources are seriously fragmented, largely without an overriding structure and unfortunately few of the sources indicate where their topic fits into the overall scheme of Dutch education. Diaries, chronicles and journal articles, while interesting and informative, are ineffective unless one understands the macro system; a reader or student cannot be expected to know intuitively where a particular source fits into the macro picture. Very few North American sources with a focus on the Netherlands have been published; judging by the international publications the country seems to have been ignored in the modern age. Whether this is due to Dutch being a minority language, the small geographical proportions[8] of the Netherlands, or the educational inertia is a perplexing question; nevertheless, one of the most densely populated countries in the world warrants some attention from English language academics.

This lack of interest in the Netherlands is not simply a North American enigma. Originally it was thought that the North American libraries might have been neglectful in acquiring material on Dutch education but when scouting for international source material it soon becomes apparent that this is an incorrect assumption. European and British sources were also checked using both the terms Netherlands and the term Holland.[9] For example, the British Education Index, established in 1954, was researched manually on a yearly basis and indicated scant interest.[10] The same pattern, very few articles about Dutch education, was found in the European Journal of Education, Paedagogica Historica, History of Education Quarterly and Western European Education. The majority of the articles in these journals pertained to curriculum, administration or financial concerns; historical information proved scanty.

In addition, various computer databases were consulted. The ERIC catalogue on historical abstracts indicated a similar pattern. The Dialog Info Service yielded 61 references concerning Dutch education but only 25 focus on the historical perspective. The United Nations publications provide some information, but this material is very topic-specific and only useful for particular, precise interests. Teaching styles, curriculum, academic achievement, minority language teaching, special education, speech, disabled education, job training, teacher training, multiculturalism, politicization of education, and the inspectorate, are all topics of interest to UNESCO. But these merely indicate particular aspects of the system and can be considered historical only if the material is dated. The contemporary educational material is only slightly useful to this study. No non-Dutch sources about specific Dutch Education Acts exist, so an English language treatment of the development of the system is unavailable.

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[8] The Netherlands is approximately 16,000 square miles, half the size of Vancouver Island.

[9] The Kingdom of the Netherlands was formed in 1830. The Netherlands is the correct name for the country. Holland was the name for the area before unification. North Holland and South Holland now constitute two western provinces. In effect there is no such thing as Holland. The tourist trade uses the term for easier identification.

[10] Altogether some 295 references, most of them written during the last 10 years were found; only 15 of these articles, four percent, were of a historical nature.

In addition, no English language books were found solely concerning Dutch education. However there are several very well-written sources of a historical nature but these provide limited information about Dutch education. For example, Geoffrey Parker and Jonathan Israel focus on political and economic Dutch history revolving around the Dutch 17th century Golden Age while Simon Schama has a broader time frame and writes about Dutch social history.[11] Although Schama allocated 20 exactingly researched pages to Dutch education, he can only be deemed a strong educational source for the period that relates to his book. Some treatments pertaining to 20th century Dutch education are contained in comparative studies and in select journal articles but again are very topic specific and scarcely contribute to a historical overview. Consequently, a researcher has to refer to Dutch language treatments of the subject.

Not surprisingly immense literature about the Dutch education system exists in the Netherlands. The wide scope of this material is diffusive and while Dutch academics write some of it well it is very confusing. The disparate range of scholarship that accounts for Dutch educational writing does not give the reader a useful starting point; one has to know the macro system to be able to categorize the literature. The literature ranges from the ubiquitous Ministry of Education publications to student and teacher diaries, school records, textbooks, records of parent-teachers consultations, and an expanse of academic disciplines; it is almost unmanageable and would take a considerable time to master. Historical interest about the education system is negligible in the Netherlands and most of it centres on the 19th century. For example, there are more than 2,200 citations[12] that only pertain to the centuries-long Education Struggle. It is safe to say that unless one has considerable knowledge about the structure and history of the system this material can be quite overwhelming. The Dutch only very recently began writing about their 20th century educational experience. There is also a lack of focus that is detrimental not only to the researcher but to the international education community as well. Perhaps the fact that little is available in English on Dutch educational history discourages some academics. This hopefully will be rectified with this study.

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[11] See their publications in the bibliography.

1. Primary Sources

The largest component of the research material used for this dissertation will consist of primary sources. The material provided by the Ministry of Education is central to this study. For example, the collective Annual Reports[13] proved very useful in presenting the overall picture of Dutch education and made some sense out of the differentiation so prevalent in the system. The first post war Ministry Annual Report was condensed; it covered 1941, 1942 and 1943, was published in 1946, and verified the war experiences from an educational perspective. The Ministry did not publish the next Annual Report, also condensing three years, - 1944, 1945 and 1946 - until 1949 but it was quite enlightening from a political and social perspective. The material for Chapter IVwas derived from these Reports although post war articles and reminiscences also were used. However, the Reports indicated as well that stagnation and complacency were the norm from the 1920s to the 1950s. (Many Dutch people simply did not see the need for change for they deemed the 1920 Elementary Act quite sufficient). The Ministry Annual Reports already mentioned and those of 1950, 1951, 1955, 1960, 1963, 1965, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1980, 1985, 1990, and 1992 all provided considerable detail unavailable from other sources.[14] Over the decades, the reports have slowly grown from 100 page to 400 page documents. The Ministry required a huge staff just to complete the Annual Reports. Publications about Ministry-sponsored projects and Ministry news releases as well as Ministry studies also will be analysed. The statistics on charts and tables interspersed throughout augmented the study; this information was derived from the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics that provide invaluable information and will corroborate and supplement the Ministry of Education Annual Reports. The material that Dutch educational historians use is derived from these sources so at least the jumping off point, the basics are the same-only the interpretation differs. The structure of the Annual Reports has changed very little over the years.

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[12] J.A. Bornewasser, "Een mystificerende 'ontmythologisering' van de vroege schoolstrijd," [A mystifying demythologizing of the past school struggle] Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis 99 (1986): 205.

[13] All the Annual Reports derive from the Ministry of Education and Sciences reports to parliament and repeating all the publication information is rather redundant. Therefore only the English title which is easiest to recognize as Annual Reports and the pertinent year will be used in the footnote citation for these primary sources. All the publication information can be found in the bibliography.

The primary material resulting from the many education commissions that ultimately led to educational change was also quite informative and often more beneficial than the Annual Reports. The first educational commission was struck in the 18th century but the most crucial commission report was completed in 1910. Reports such as The Bolkestein Scheme of 1946, the Rutten Education Plan of 1951, and the Second Education Note of 1955 all played a large role and subsequently became the basis of the 1963 Secondary Education Act. The information provided by these Reports and the commissions yield material that cannot be found in the various legislative acts; they proved invaluable for their background information on the Dutch perceptions of reasons for educational change. The parliamentary debates concerning the passage of the Education Acts were similarly of significance because they indicate quite clearly the functionalism that traditionally has been so pervasive in Dutch society and the educational community. Naturally the 1963 Secondary Education Act was quite closely examined. By analysing the changes from one act to the next, one can learn where societal and educational needs were or were not met.

During the course of the research informal discussions were held with professors, students and parents concerning the development of the secondary education system, some of these discussions have been included. No specific methods were used, spontaneous conversation provided beneficial points and provided a welcome counter balance to the government documents that usually made for boring reading. The differing opinions of all these groups supplement the governmental perspective of the need for educational change. These primary sources present the nucleus of this study.

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[14] These Reports become more voluminous every year. The War Reports did not require 100 hundred pages, yet the 1992 Report was well over 400 pages.

2. Secondary Sources

There is a voluminous if not overwhelming amount of Dutch language secondary source material concerning their education system available in the Netherlands. It is safe to say that it would take years to master all the available material Dutch academics write about their system. From a historical perspective the works of the historical educational professionals is most useful.[15] The Geschiedenis van de School in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de heidige tijd, [History of the school in the Netherlands from the Middle Ages to the present] by P. Boekholt and E. de Booy (1987) is an excellent source concerning the development of the Dutch education system, but it largely pertains to elementary schools and the style is difficult. Boekholt also wrote a book in 1985 entitled De hervorming der scholen [The Reform of the Schools] and his perspective is refreshing; he comments on nearly every aspect of Dutch education and points out that the system definitely required modernizing. Both authors have written numerous articles and provide an informative resource.

Philip Idenburg too, wrote a number of books concerning Dutch education. His works are of great interest to a researcher for he points out many of the complexities and explains them with sufficient detail and clarity. His theory, that there were two different educational administration policies as practiced by the Ministry of Education, has been adopted by all subsequent Dutch academics. As well, J. Aarts and his co authors N. Deen and J. Giesbers put the system into a clear perspective with Onderwijs in Nederland [Education in the Netherlands], which is a book written in outline form although very scarce on statistical information.

However, N. L. Dodde is the most prolific and often the most insightful Dutch education historian; he offers subtle and indirect criticism and provides a large number of secondary studies, based on archival material, school records, government statistics and Ministry Reports, which examine the changes in the

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[15] All of the titles mentioned in this section can be found in the bibliography.

Dutch education system. Other Dutch academics commend him for insisting that the historical background of Dutch education is pertinent in understanding the problems facing the system in the 20th century. In 1981 Dodde published Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse schoolwezen, [History of Netherlands schooling]. This general overview is quite informative and presents a historical construct of Dutch education that is missing from other sources. He followed this with his 1983 study Het Nederlandse Onderwijs Verandert: Ontwikkelingen sinds 1800, [Dutch education is changing; developments since 1800]. This useful study provides details not found in Annual Reports or other government publications. For example, he discusses the political influences on education, the financial vicissitudes, the changing social climate and he argues that educational change is imperative to meet the needs of modern society. Dodde also wrote Dag Mammoet: Verleden heden en toekomst van het Nederlandse schoolsysteem, [Goodbye Mammoth; past present and future of the Netherlands school system] in 1993 in which he pointed out the deficiencies of the 1963 Secondary Education Act and indirectly indicated that it hindered rather than improved Dutch education. However, in this study he does not indicate why this occurred; it is left to the reader to surmise the reasons for this development. Many of his other works, all cited in the bibliography, were used for this study and they play an important role in the material on Dutch history of education.

Also of considerable importance, but from a sociological perspective, is the multi volumed series entitled Onderwijs Bestel en Beleid, [Education: Policy and Administration]. Former Education Minister J.A. van Kemenade and the contributors edit the four volume series, they all have an excellent reputation in their various fields. The history, research developments, curriculum, educational theories, restructuring and all the elements that pertain to education are dealt with in this series. This invaluable source not only indicates the need for change from a sociological perspective but also presents data and topics not found in the primary sources. Also, the Dutch have a very strong infrastructure of organizational journals that serves the educational field so finding secondary material is not difficult; the range of educational topics is astounding. From a researcher's perspective however, these journal articles are narrowly focussed and very limited by either ideological or religious viewpoints. Moreover, they are highly specialized topics and unless one knows where the topic specific article fits into the historical time frame making use of the information is difficult. To illustrate, in Spiegel Historiael P. Boekholt wrote about "The development of confessional instruction in Gelderland." This article pertains to the sectarian education struggle in the province of Gelderland as well as to contemporary methods of instruction; knowing where it fits is crucial. Likewise, C. Fasseur's "Heavenly goddess or milk cow" refers to programs at the universities of Leiden and Utrecht. The "Heavenly goddess" represents Leiden and the "milk cow" is Utrecht, indicating a friendly rivalry between the two universities. Consequently if one is not informed about the Dutch terminology, historical background and the biases inherent in the sources, critical information can easily be missed. On the other hand, some journal articles are quite precise. For example, in "Education and Social Reform" authors Erik Hansen and Peter Prosper Jr. indicate that some material is extant concerning Dutch teachers' unions. This is a topic scarcely mentioned in the government documents. Books in the major European languages - French, German and Spanish - while more numerous than English language sources, also were consulted for foreign perspectives that proved very interesting and informative. The combination of the Education Acts, the Ministry of Education material and the secondary sources should prove sufficient to reach conclusions.

CHAPTER II-THE POST WAR EDUCATION SYSTEM

Immediately after World War II, when everything in the Netherlands was in a state of confusion and then of renewal, creating a new and progressive system of national education would have been beneficial. For many decades reformers had been complaining of rigidity and excessive curriculum orientation in the schools but change did not come quickly. In this chapter the post war structure of Dutch education will be analyzed so that the reader can appreciate the urgent need for reform. The period circa 1960 has been chosen for this review because 15 years of reconstruction should have given the authorities time to reorganize their system, and because economic recovery should have enabled the schools to be functioning reasonably well. While the main concern will be with secondary education, it is necessary also to look at the elementary school situation that inevitably impacted upon the whole system. It will be demonstrated that by 1960 the system had developed into an unwieldy jumble of different schools without any coherence. Although financial equality of private and public education was in place, the various types of schools were under various legal jurisdictions, were separated by religious and ideological differences, and had grown haphazardly into a needlessly confusing structure. The overriding factor in the Netherlands was that the individual had a constitutional right to an education in whatever faith or ideology the family chose, and if a suitable place could not be found a new category of school was created.

A. PRE SCHOOL

The Dutch financially democratized education in 1917 but the system did not have legislation concerning the pre schools until 1955 when the passage of the Elementary School Act regulated subsidies and made inspection independent from the private sector. In January 1959 only about 70 per cent of the pertinent age population, 397,843[1] children, attended pre schools of whom 312,000 were in private schools.[2] As noted earlier, pre school was not compulsory so the total figure given above represented only 38 per cent of all four year olds, 49 per cent of all five year olds, and 13 per cent of all six year olds - not all six year olds attended pre school because they were in the first year of elementary school.[3] Pre school programs charged an annual fl12.00 school fee subject to income exemptions. The pre school system in 1960 consisted of a total of 4,230 (4,080)schools.[4] The majority, 84 per cent, of the pre schools used the Froebel system while the rest used Montessori or a combination of both.[5] Net public expenditure for 1960 amounted to fl124,400,000; then fl10.00 equalled one £ sterling. Conversely $1.00 Canadian equalled fl5.50 in 1960.[6]

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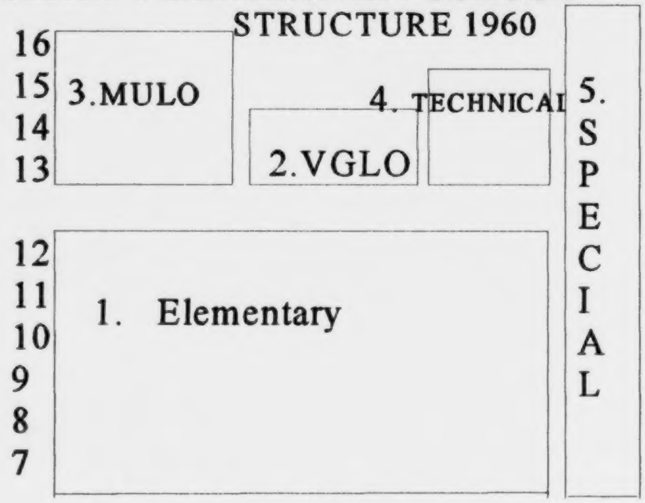
[1] Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, [Central Bureau for Statistics] 1899-1994 Vijf en negentig jaren statistiek in tijdreeksen [1899-1994 Ninety five years of chronological statistics]. (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij/CBS Publikaties, 1994): 242. (Hereafter CBS).

B. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The 1920 Elementary Education Act regulated elementary education as late as 1960. In the Netherlands there were simply not one level and not one type of elementary education as one would ordinarily expect; unbelievably there were five of each ranging from age seven to 16 as indicated in Chart 1.

CHART 1:ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STRUCTURE 1960



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[2] dutch schoolsystem [sic][Dutch School System] (The Hague: Ministry of Education and Sciences, 1960), 19. This is the verbatim title of the document published by the Ministry of Education and Sciences in 1960.

[3] Ibid, 20.

[4] Annual Report 1960 17. Where possible the figures for the previous year will be given in brackets.

[5] Dutch School System 20.

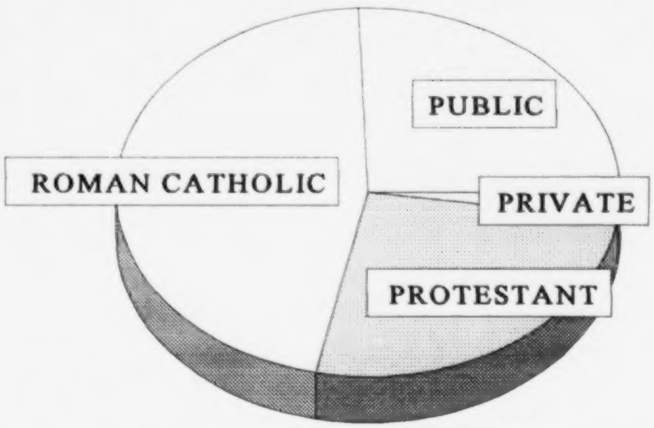
[6] CBS, (1994): 242.

1. General Elementary Education

The greatest percentage of students attended regular or general elementary education that consisted of a six-year program from ages seven to 12; the other categories of elementary education both public and private, were supplementary elementary, VGLO, for 13 to 15 year olds, elementary advanced technical to age 14/15, advanced elementary to age 16/ 17 at the MULO school, and special elementary education to age 18.

In 1960 the elementary system contained 7,888 schools with a total student population of 1,518,456.[7] As Chart 2 illustrates,[8] the schools were "pillarized," segmented into religious, political-sociological compartments that indicates the functionalism so inherent in Dutch society. Only 25.6 per cent were public schools, 45.5 per cent were Roman Catholic, and 26 per cent Protestant and two per cent private. Obviously the fragmentation of the school system was as pervasive as that of Dutch society. Different private, political, social or economic groups, associations, unions, religious denominations and institutions that offered private education characterized the functionalism in the school system. Anyone or any group that wished to found a school had a constitutional right to do so and would be financially supported by the state. Public elementary schools were open to children of any affiliation or religious conviction. Although religious instructors taught religion, they obliged no student to attend these classes in the public schools. The management of the public schools was the responsibility of the municipality in consultation with the State Inspector of

CHART 2: SCHOOL SEGMENTATION



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[7] Ibid.

[8] Source: Ibid.

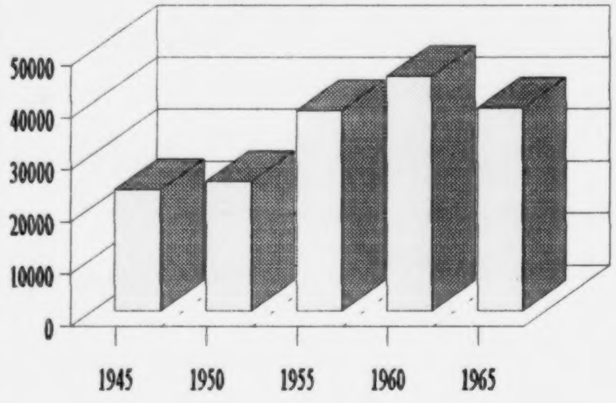
Education. Headmaster and Headmistress positions had to be approved by the inspector. The municipality determined curriculum content also but in consultation with the state inspector. The physical establishment, maintenance and equipment requirements were municipal responsibilities. The teacher student ratio generally was one to 30 students with an additional teacher if the class size exceeded 30. The Dutch also fragmented teachers and their associations along these public-private lines. The number of teachers for both elementary and special elementary schools totalled 56,053 most of whom were in the Roman Catholic, Protestant and private system.[9] The elementary curriculum consisted of reading, arithmetic, writing, Dutch language, singing, drawing, Netherlands' history, physical culture, geography, traffic education, and needlework and other handicrafts for girls.

2. VGLO-Extended Elementary Education

After World War II a new type of school had been added for those children who completed only six years of elementary schooling and then started working. This new level was considered supplementary, elementary education with a two-year program and was incorporated into existing elementary schools. This extension to the six-year elementary program quickly became better known as the seventh and eighth years, voortgezet lager onderwijs, abbreviated to VGLO. This school differed only slightly from the ordinary, elementary program; in addition, these students one day a week received instruction in manual skills for boys and training in domestic sciences for girls. A distinction between the two levels can be seen as head-heart-hand in the elementary

CHART 3: VGLO ENROLMENT

1945-1965



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[9] Annual Report 1960 21.

level whereas the supplementary level can be described as hand-heart-hand, more vocationally oriented. The student teacher ratio was one to 30 but in this category too, another teacher was added if class size exceeded 30 students.[10] From 1945 to 1965 these school numbers increased from 288 to 356 while the enrolment figures increased from 23,291 in 1945 to 45,116 in 1965 as Chart 3[11] illustrates. Government and municipal expenditure on ordinary and supplementary primary education in 1957 amounted to fl573,000,000. The State share was fl356,000,000 and the municipal share was fl217,000,000.[12]

This growing interest in post elementary education was due to the improved economic and social conditions of the later 1950s. Increased industrialization, the baby boom and greater prosperity resulted in much higher enrolment and caused some unexpected problems. For example, the children of the lower socioeconomic classes stayed in school longer because the major breadwinner earned a decent salary and did not need the youngsters to supplement family income. The school leaving age of 14 also had posed some problems because the Nazis in 1942 had imposed age 15 as the limit of compulsory attendance. To ease the problems the Dutch maintained the German figure by amending the Compulsory Education Act in 1950.

3. MULO-Advanced Elementary Education

Students who had completed the sixth year of elementary school could attend what the Dutch categorized as Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs, MULO, advanced elementary school. A literal translation would term this as more extended elementary education. This may seem confusing for a non-Dutch reader but the 1920 Elementary Education Act regulated this level in 1960. Chronologically and content wise it pertained to the secondary level rather than the elementary. Advanced elementary school generally was a four-year program

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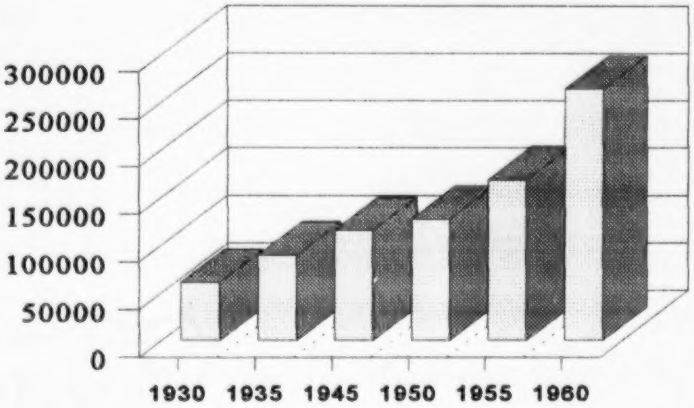
[10] Dutch School System 28.

[11] Source: CBS, De ontwikkeling van het onderwijs in Nederland [The development of education in the Netherlands] (1966):107 and Statistisch zakboek [Statistical pocketbook.] (1966):31 Table 17.

[12] Dutch School System 29.

CHART 4: MULO ENROLMENT

1930-1960



but a three-year program was also available in some schools. The elementary system required MULO which could not include the VGLO years because it was an entirely different stream and lasted twice as long. By far this was the most popular school as the numbers in Chart 4[13] illustrates. The enrolment figures nearly exceeded all of the other school enrolments combined. The MULO schools in 1930 numbered 786 and increased to 1,182 by 1960.[14] Population figures governed the right of a municipality to establish a MULO school. For example, a town with a population more than 100,000 had to produce a minimum of 61 students to establish such a school; for towns between 50,000 and 100,000 the minimum number was 48, towns between 25,000-50,000 population required a minimum number of 36 while for the smaller municipalities 24 students were sufficient.[15] The teacher student ratio was one to 30.[16] Curriculum included German, French, English, mathematics, general history, and commerce (business) which were taught in addition to those subjects taught in the lower elementary schools. Net public expenditure on advanced primary education stood at fl127,000,000 of which the State granted fl82,000,000 and the municipalities contributed fl45,000,000.[17]

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[13] Source: CBS, (1966):117 and Statistisch zakboek (1966): 31 Table 18.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Dutch School System 36.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid, 37.

4. Technical/Vocational Education

The technical/vocational schools were entirely separated from the other elementary schools not only physically but legislatively. Nevertheless, because these were elementary schools they have been included in this section. One teacher, who specialized in the subject, taught each section of the curriculum. Instruction in the French, German, English languages, general history, mathematics and knowledge of the principles of commerce were the main subjects. These were the additional courses that made this school unique and differentiated it from the other elementary schools. This type of school experienced rapid development after the war years. Unfortunately, only about half the student population at this level achieved the School Leaving Certificate; the rest of the students failed. The graduates could progress to Teachers' Training Colleges and secondary and vocational schools. Students could also obtain low level positions in commerce and industry with a Technical/Vocational certificate. More information about these schools will follow in the section on vocational education.

5. Special Elementary Education

This program offered education for seven to 18 year olds who suffered from learning disabilities, were mentally or physically challenged and considered unsuitable, for various purposes, for the ordinary elementary school program.[18] Main streaming or integration of special needs students had never been an issue in the Netherlands up to the 1960s. If a student needed extra attention due to a disability, the special schools provided it. In this respect the Dutch schools were far advanced in comparison to other educational systems.[19] Dutch special education informally dates back centuries and deserves its own historian.

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[18] See Appendix B-Special Elementary Schools.

[19] For a good general assessment of the special education programs in the Netherlands see the four part series of articles by Nora M. Brown, "Special Education in the Netherlands: General Consideration and Familiar Categories," Special Education (November 1958): 48-52, and "Special Education in the Netherlands: Part 2," Special Education (January 1959): 15-20, and "Special Education in the Netherlands: Unfamiliar Categories," Special Education (May 1959): 22-26, and "Special Education in the Netherlands: The Young Offender," Special Education (September 1959): 22-27.

those who for a variety of reasons could not function in the general elementary population. For example, this sector included students without a permanent home, such as children of barge-crews, or transients in caravans. Special education as a separate category expanded considerably after the war from 12 categories to 20 due to a reclassification of the various special education groups. Mostly this specialized group consisted of those afflicted with tuberculosis, physically weak children, those experiencing learning difficulties, students under State or guardian control and children of barge-crews.[20] Attendance was not obligatory.

The war too had undoubtedly psychologically affected students. For example, the numbers of private schools for mentally weak students from 1946 to 1951 increased from 83 schools to 126 and then from 126 to 198 schools by 1959, a jump of more than 100 per cent within a 10 year period.[21] This alarming increase outpaced the enrolment growth of general elementary schools. The school numbers are not surprising but the figures for the student enrolment are unbelievable. The private schools for mentally weak children only had 9,771 students in 1946 but this increased nearly 100 per cent to 16,167 in 1951 and then increased again to 24,368 in 1959.[22] What is also of interest is that none of the other categories increased as much as the mentally weak children. The category for backward or difficult children also rose steadily over a 13 year period. The enrolment increase from 288 in 1946 to 705 in 1951 is well over 100 per cent; the jump from 1951 to 1959 to 1,393 children in this category meant yet another 100-per cent increase.[23] Again, the deprivations of war and the meagre income some people earned were some reasons for this unnatural increase, the difficulties might have been due to the return to a normalcy many children had never experienced. The categories for itinerant and barge crew children on the other hand, were nearly negligible. Appendix B - Special

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[20] The Special Education Interim Act became effective 1 August 1985. The Ministry of Education publication Richness of the uncompleted (1988): 41 lists 15 different types of special schools.

[21] Dutch School System 34.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

Elementary Schools-[24] divided into P for public and Pr. for private schools and students, illustrates the strong increase in numbers but this is due in part to five additional categories of special education which were introduced in the 1945-1950 period.[25] The Dutch traditionally have expended considerable financial resources on their special education students; the curriculum and care of the individual students it is safe to say are exemplary.[26] Net public expenditure for special elementary education increased noticeably during the 1950s. In 1951 the Ministry allocated fl19,973,000, two-year later this rose to fl22,882,000, in 1953 to fl27,089, 000; in 1955 the allocation increased quite significantly rose to fl56,900,000 to accompany the increases in the numbers of special students.[27] Evidently the Dutch special education system can be deemed an outstanding system and it would be safe to say that many other countries would be wise to model their special needs educational sector on the Dutch system.

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[24] Ibid. The breakdown from other sources is considerably different; to be consistent information from this source was retained as it was based on 1960 Ministry of Education statistics. The terminology is obviously dated but for the sake of consistency with the source these terms were retained in this table. The Dutch educational system still has a large special education section, one could argue that the special education program is disproportionately large in the Netherlands. However, those students placed in this sector do not necessarily stay in special education. Quite often once the problem has been resolved, for example, a cognitive dysfunction, the student re-enters the general school population. Those with permanent disabilities of course remain in this sector.

[25] Ibid, 33.

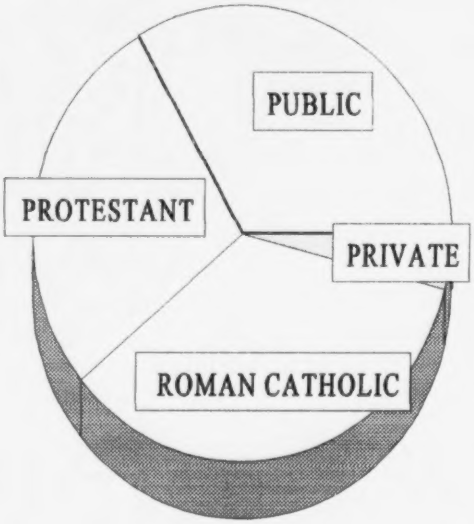
[26] A good indication of the importance the Dutch placed on making the physically and mentally challenged students educable can be found in Jeroen Dekker, "Normal and non-Normal Children in the Light of Compulsory Education in the Netherlands, Circa 1850-Circa 1920," in Compulsory Education: Schools, Pupils, Teachers, Programs and Methods Conference paper for the 8th session of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education edited by Giovanni Genovesi, (Parma:University of Parma, 1986).

[27] Ibid.

C. SECONDARY SCHOOL

In keeping with the Dutch passion for functionalism it is not surprising that the educrats also streamed the secondary system that consisted of a tripartite secondary school structure. The Dutch divided it into: academic, general academic and vocational/ technical streams. Yet these schools had considerable curriculum overlap. They further demarcated all these schools into various categories-- social, political, economic and religious -- that closely mirrored the functionalist structure of Dutch society. The extent of the various types of schools and how they were divided by percentages into public and private schools with the religious denominations being quite prominent is indicated in Chart 5:[28] the Protestants held 27.8 per cent while the Roman Catholics were highest at 35.1 per cent. However, the public sector had 33.5 per cent while the private contained 3.8 per cent. Neither was all of the secondary system regulated by the Minister of Education; various Ministries and differing laws had jurisdiction over what a North American reader would consider secondary education.

CHART 5: PUBLIC/PRIVATE PERCENTAGES



1. Academic Education

Around 1960 the most prestigious groups of schools were the academic institutions that prepared students for a university. These groups were subdivided into several different categories. The academic secondary level began around age 12/13 after completion of the six-year elementary program, and generally ended at age 18.

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[28] Source: CBS, (1994): 244.

a) Gymnasium Schools

The "pillarization" was obvious in this level too. The grammar school or gymnasium had a six-year program for students aged 12/13 to 18. The curriculum at the gymnasium was composed of classics, Greek, Latin and general literature, Dutch language and literature, French, German and English languages, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, physical education, drawing and music.[29] Hebrew was an option. Structure for the gymnasium school was four common years and then a division into two specialized years known as A and B. The A section had an emphasis on Greek and Latin while the B section stressed the sciences. The culmination of the program by way of a school leaving examination allowed graduates to write the university entrance examination. The A group wrote exams to enter post secondary faculties of theology, literature and philosophy while the B group wrote exams to qualify for entry to the faculties of medicine, exact sciences, natural science, veterinary science, technical science, physical geography and actuarial science. However, both programs qualified the student for law, agricultural science, economics, political and social sciences, social geography, psychology,

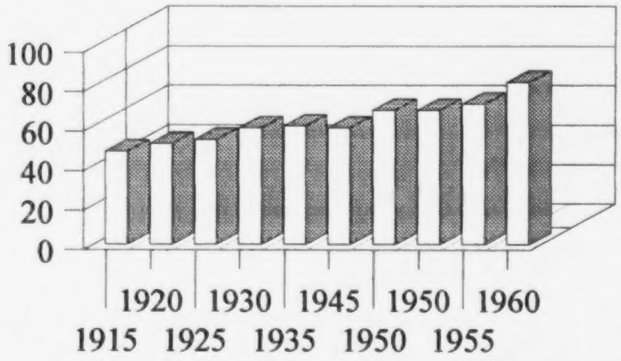

CHART 6: GYMNASIUM SCHOOLS
1915-1960

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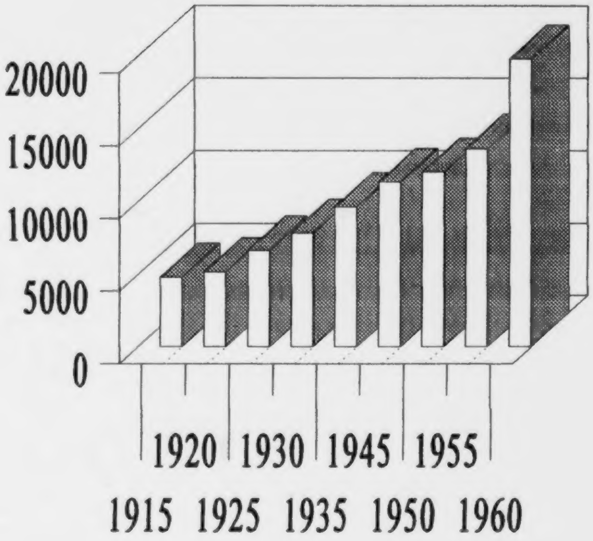
[29] Source: Ibid.

and pedagogy. Chart 6[30] and Chart[31] 7 suggest that enrolment increased disproportionately to the number of schools. Eighty gymnasium schools were divided into 33 public and 47 Roman Catholic, Protestant and private in 1959.[32] This increased to 82 in1960.[33] However, student enrolment increased fourfold from approximately 5,000 students to 20,000.[34]

CHART 7: GYMNASIUM ENROLMENT

1915-1960



b) Lyceums

Although not mentioned in the Elementary Education Act, the lyceum offered a combination of the gymnasium and the HBS programs and enjoyed spectacular increases in both numbers of school and student enrolment. Chart 8[35] illustrates a 200 per cent increase in school numbers from 1915 to 1960. These schools virtually doubled in numbers from 1950 to 1960. Even more impressive is the unbelievably spectacular increase in student enrolment as indicated in Chart 9.[36] Although most of the charts in this chapter do not include the 1965 statistics, in this instance these will be included because it emphasises the point about students' interest.[37] Clearly from a growth perspective this was the most popular secondary school in the Netherlands. The lyceum in 1960 had both a five or a six-year program. The first two years had a common foundation that can be considered

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[30] Source: CBS, (1966): 143 and Statistisch zakboek (1966): 32.

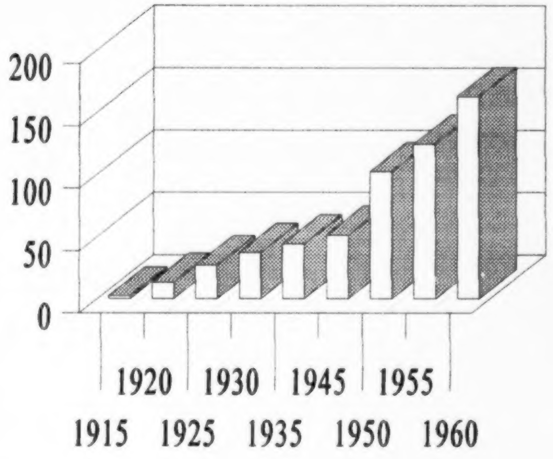
[31] Ibid.

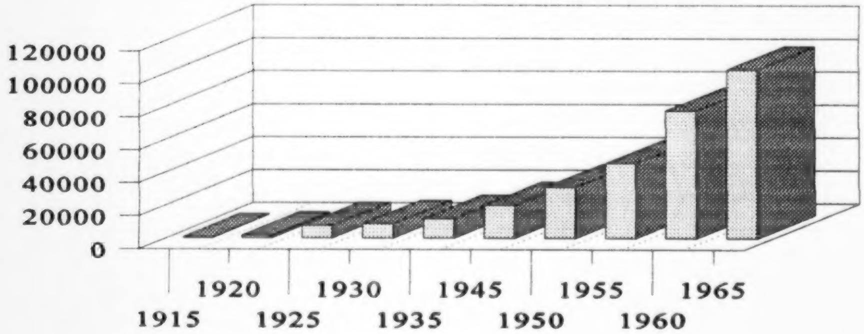
[32] Dutch School System 52.

[33] Source: CBS, (1966): 143 and Statistisch zakboek (1966):32.

[34] Source: Ibid.

[35] Source: Ibid.





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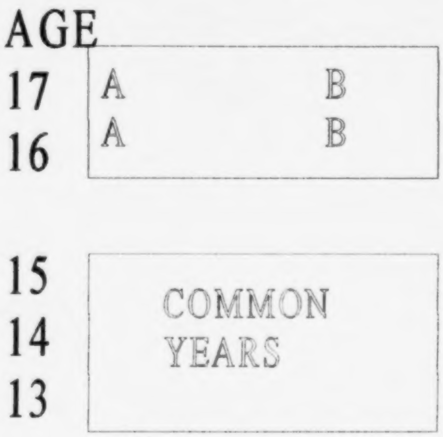
[36] Source: Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

a precursor to the comprehensive schools that developed in the following decades. Thereafter the Dutch divided the lyceum program into either the gymnasium school curriculum for five years, or the HBS program for three or four years.

CHART 10: HBS STRUCTURE



2. General Education
a) HBS Schools

Another type of academic secondary school was the modern grammar school, better known as hogere burgerscholen HBS, higher burgher school for the upper middle class. They originally intended these three or five-year programs to provide general education and training geared toward commerce. After 1917 the HBS evolved into a preparatory school for higher education. Like the gymnasium, the five year HBS schools were split into A and B categories the last two years of the program as illustrated in Chart 10, structurally the only difference between the gymnasium and HBS was one less year. The three year HBS schools were sparsely attended and declined significantly in the post war era as Chart 11suggests. Enrolment peaked at 4,391 students in 1920 while the number of HBS three year schools crested at 27 in 1910, but they steadily declined to only three in 1960.[38] The decline of these schools is obvious when viewing the low enrolment after the war.

The five-year HBS schools on Chart 12[39] numerically indicates the difference of interest for the two HBS schools from 1986 to 1960.[40] A comparison of Charts 11 and 13[41] indicates the huge enrolment differentiations between the two types of schools. Beginning with 16 schools in 1865 with an enrolment of 1,187, the five year HBS schools had increased to 147 schools in 1960 with an enrolment of 47,492; these are impressive statistics. This expansion phase, due to industrialization, can clearly be equated with the post war

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[38] CBS, (1966), 142 Table 8 and Statistisch zakboek (1966): 32 Table 19.

[39] Ibid.

CHART 11: HBS (3YEAR) ENROLMENT 1865-1960

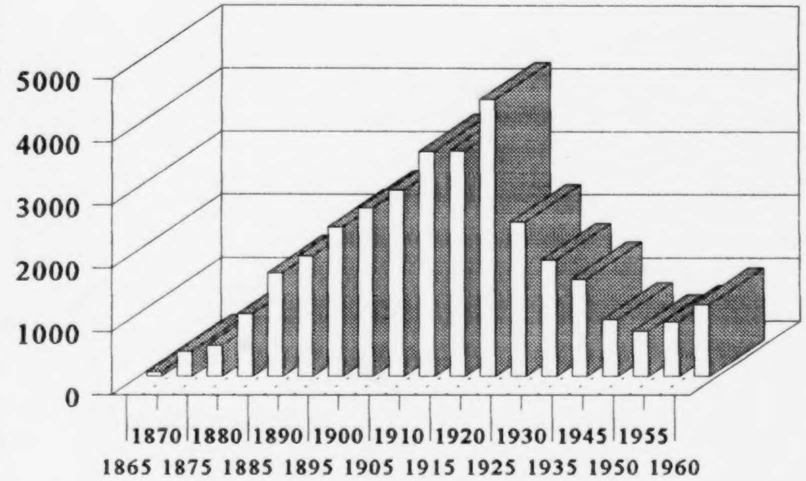
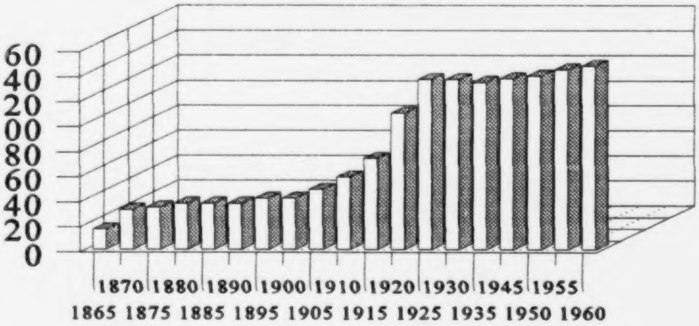


CHART 12: FIVE YEAR HBS SCHOOLS 1865-1960



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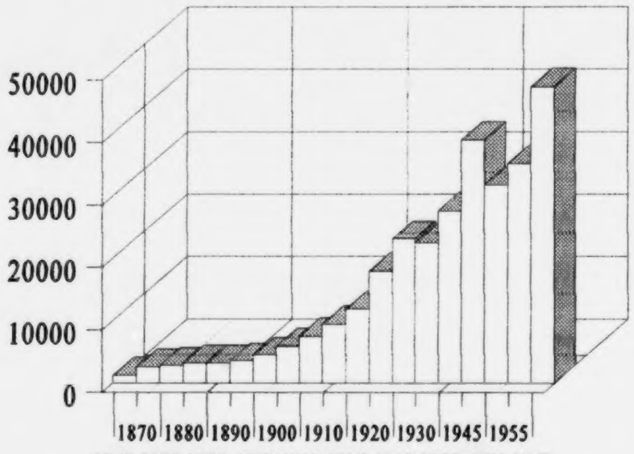
[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

population expansion. That 147 schools had to accommodate 50,000 students in 1960 should be viewed as a considerable feat for the Dutch educational system.[42] The A sector in the five year schools focussed on social subjects and languages. The curriculum included Dutch language and literature, French, German, English and their respective literatures, commercial sciences, political economy, statistics, geography, history, constitutional history of the Netherlands, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, freehand drawing, and music. The emphasis in the B category was on mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, cosmography, history, constitutional history of the Netherlands, political economy, geography, Dutch, French, German, English languages and literature, simple bookkeeping, freehand and geometrical drawing, physical education, and music. Initially this categorization may seem redundant because they seem so similar, but educrats established the difference in programs so that entry into specific faculties at post secondary institutes was assured. Upon completion of either the A or B five (sometimes six) year program students wrote an examination. A Board that consisted of teachers from the senior year and subject experts, was nominated annually by the Minister of Education and it was responsible for the quality of the exams. The B group diploma allowed for university entrance exams in mathematics, veterinary science, medicine, physics, technical science, physical science,

CHART 13: FIVE YEAR HBS ENROLMENT

1865-1960



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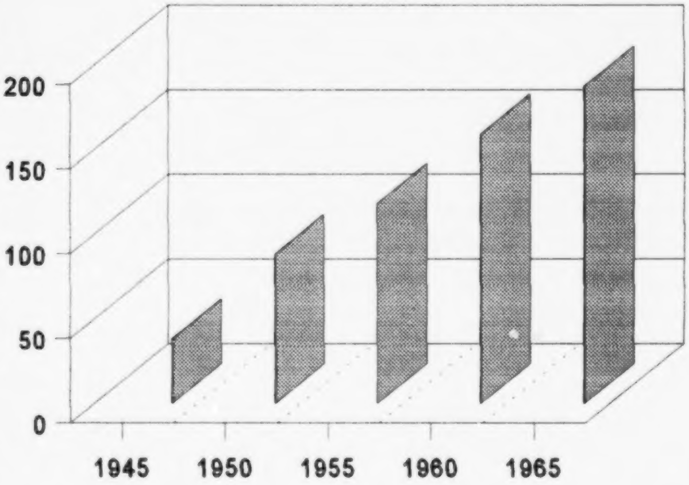
[42] Ibid.

agricultural science and actuarial science. Both A and B diplomas permitted exams for faculties of law, economics, political and social sciences, social geography, psychology and pedagogy. The transfer to universities however, was slight; the elite who attended universities had usually passed through the grammar schools.

b) MMS- Secondary Schools for Girls

CHART 14: MMS SCHOOLS

1945-1965



The Dutch system also had five year secondary schools for girls from ages 13 to 18 known as the Middelbare School voor Meisjes, MMS, middle school for girls, that shared a common curriculum. These schools had experienced a slow growth rate from 1865 to 1915: one school with 92 students eventually increased to 25 schools with 2,024 students.[43] The school numbers had increased slowly before World War II, from 19 in 1915 to 25 in 1935 but post war growth exceeded 400 per cent; as Chart 14[44] illustrates, 38 MMS Schools in 1945 expanded to 187 MMS Schools in 1965. An idea of the enrolment numbers can be found in Chart 15;[45] an increase from a 3,459 enrolments to 30,900 during a 20 year period was certainly remarkable and indicates considerable interest by the student population.[46] Clearly the most spectacular growth in enrolment occurred in the post war period.

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[43] CBS, (1966): 143 and Statistisch zakboek (1966): 32 Table 19.

[44] Source: Ibid.

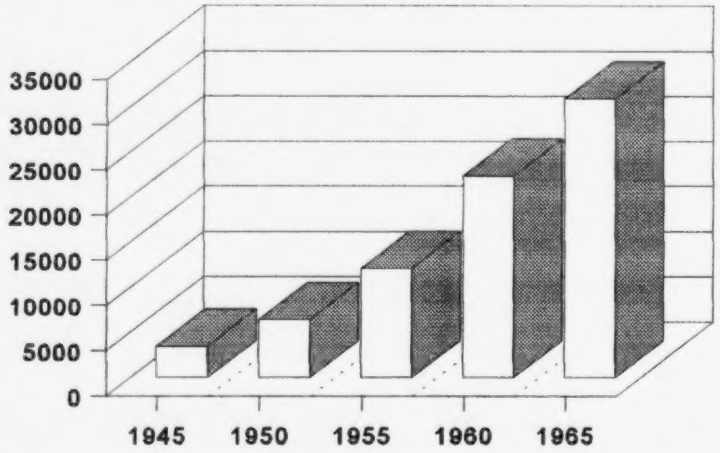
[45] Source: Ibid.

The MMS curriculum was composed of the Dutch, French, German, English languages, geography, history, mathematics physics, chemistry, biology, freehand drawing, needlework, music and physical education. The final examination was drawn up by the instructors with supplemental examiners, appointed by the Minister, attending as invigilators. However, the girls' school leaving certificate did not qualify the student to write the university entrance exam because MMS was not considered as an academic program. Rather, it allowed admittance to a variety of schools for training in the vocational caring professions.

Unfortunately, only about one half the students at gymnasium, HBS or Lyceum obtained their leaving certificate or diploma because these types of schools had an intellectual, academic orientation and required quite high passing averages. This has traditionally been a serious problem in Dutch education. Students who had attended a preparatory higher secondary school for a three year period with satisfactory results could skip the specialized later years. They could gain admission to teacher training colleges for the pre school and elementary programs or continue their education in technical, secondary agricultural or horticultural education. Leaving students who challenged the

CHART 15: MMS ENROLMENT

1945-1965



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[46] CBS, (1966): 143 Table 8.

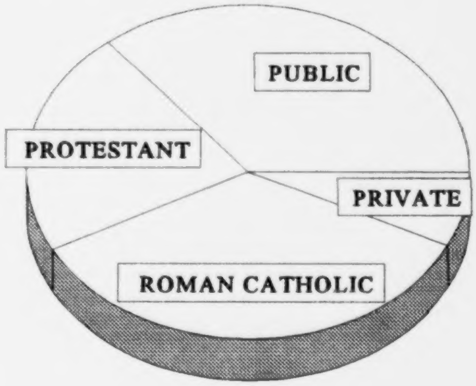
exam without attending these specific schools could also obtain certificates if they had reached proficiency in these subjects through other channels. This factor indicates that there was some horizontal streaming although very minute. Those who passed received a diploma granting the same rights as the normal leaving certificates. The total cost of this branch of education in 1957 amounted to fl160,000,000 of which fl104,000,000 were State grants while the municipalities providedfl56,000,000.[47] Obviously there was extensive overlap of programs; the slight program variations scarcely warranted the excessive differentiation of schools.

c) Commercial Day Schools

The commercial day school program lasted three or four years. The curriculum included Dutch, French, English, and German languages along with commercial correspondence in these languages; history and geography directed to trade; commercial science, economics, commercial law, the constitutional history of the Netherlands, mathematics, physics, chemistry, knowledge of commodities, biology, drawing, and physical education. The commercial day schools were most popular in the 1920s. They increased from five schools in 1900 to 55 in 1920, but decreased to 41 in 1935 and to 16 in 1945.[48] The numbers of commercial day schools and student enrolment declined significantly especially after the World War II. The greater percentage of the population preferred taking these types of courses in their spare time and therefore the commercial evening schools were retained. Leaving examinations were given by the teachers and ministerial nominees but these did not allow students the right to write

CHART 16: COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS

"PILLARIZATION"



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[47] Dutch School System 51.

[48] Ibid, 42.

university entrance exams. Commercial evening schools, which had a three to a five-year program, had been in existence since the late 19th century. The commercial schools too were segmented; of 19 schools in 1940, eight were public and 11 were private.[49] Chart 16[50] indicates that the academic and general stream of secondary education in 1958 was "pillarized" into 36 per cent public schools, 22 per cent Protestant, 35 per cent Roman Catholic and seven per cent private schools.

3. Vocational Education

Technical and vocational education in the Netherlands functioned independently from the academic secondary sector, legislation, jurisdictions and programs; in fact should be deemed as parallel to the academic secondary sector discussed earlier.[51] Vocational/technical education had streams of its own as seen in Appendix C - Vocational Education Structure. The 1919 Technical and Vocational Education Act regulated the entire realm of technical education: mercantile marine and inland shipping, all forms of domestic economy and rural domestic economy, training of social workers, full preparation for shop assistants and many specific activities for women. The Act contained examination regulations and provisions for the issuance of school leaving certificates or diplomas. This level provided training for students who sought careers in industry, seafaring, housekeeping, or skilled labour. The 1919 Vocational Act also regulated the apprenticeship system. Since most of the technical and vocational schools had been established by private initiative in the late 19th century most of the schools remained in private hands.[52] The government contributed about 75 per cent of the expenditures while the municipalities contributed the remainder.[53] As with the academic and general secondary schools the Dutch also excessively categorized this type of education.

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Source: Dutch School System 52.

[51] See Robert William Hartog, "Secondary Education in the Netherlands with Special Reference to Vocational Education since 1968," (Master's diss., University of Alberta, 1976), 14.

[52] When vocational education was combined with the secondary education level in the 1963 Secondary Education Act this type of education was placed under the State's jurisdiction rather than on private initiative that had up till then been the case.

a) Technical and Vocational Education

(i) Elementary Technical and Vocational Schools

Three levels of technical and vocational education existed side by side in 1960. The system offered the two or three-year elementary technical day schools for boys in more than 200 schools that averaged 300 students each.[54] To gain admittance to these schools students needed completion of the sixth year of elementary school and be more than 12 years and eight months old, however, for a four-year program they did not enforce the age restriction. Trade education included training for a woodworking-carpenter and cabinet maker, metal worker, fitter, blacksmith, electrician, coppersmith, workers in lead or zinc and house painting. In addition, courses in cycle repair, motorcycle and motor car maintenance and repair, masonry, tailoring, shoemaking, printing, baking and textile production were available. Not these courses and programs were taught in all the vocational schools. Curriculum commonly revolved around local needs. However, nearly all the schools included woodworking or metal working in their curriculum. The schools also included various supplementary training courses, and the apprenticeship system, at this level. Apprenticeships were conducted in factories for a specific trade mainly to provide practical training; apprentices also were obligated to take a supplementary course or theoretical training at a day or evening school one day a week. In October 1959, 44,500 students enrolled in the apprenticeship program.[55] The expenditure for this program was fl3,558,000 in 1960.[56]

(ii) Advanced Elementary Technical Training

To cope with rapid industrialization, the educrats introduced advanced elementary technical training for boys after World War II and was still in the experimental stage in 1960. Consequently, only a few of these schools had been established. To obtain entrance to this program boys had to have completed either three years of MULO or two years of some type of secondary school education. However a student possessing an elementary technical day school diploma could enter the advanced program by way of a one year linkup class (preparatory advanced technical education). The program was usually of three year duration with the last year completely a practicum regulated and supervised under the aegis of the school. Program completion resulted in students obtaining subordinate positions in industry. In 1959 a total of 10,543 pupils attended these schools.[57]

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[53] Dutch School System 54.

[54] Ibid, 55.

[55] Ibid, 56.

[56] CBS, (1994): 253.

(iii) Post Secondary Technical Education

The four year technical colleges were the highest non academic educational level. These colleges had departments for architecture, road construction, hydraulic engineering, and mechanical and electrical engineering. Some of these colleges also had departments for shipbuilding, aeronautics, technological engineering, land surveying and chemical, physical and economic industrial organization. In this program the third year was spent in practicum in industry although students could undertake a three-month foreign practicum. To qualify for this program students needed one four following educational requirements: one, a B leaving certificate from a MULO, two, advancement from the third to the fourth year of an academic secondary school with good marks especially in mathematics, three, an academic secondary school B leaving certificate or four, an elementary technical day school leaving certificate, which would have meant placement in the link up class. Students who held an academic secondary school B certificate generally entered the second year at the technical college level. A total of 9,500 students attended post secondary technical colleges in 1959.[58]

(iv) Other Technical Schools

The system offered other technical training schools for boys in six different types of schools that did not fit into the categories already mentioned. For example, to accommodate the need of the merchant navy nautical schools offered courses that upon successful completion supplied mates and telegraphists. A MULO certificate was the admittance criterion. The nautical schools had 2,209 students in 1959.[59] Of the 11 nautical schools, six were public and five were private.[60]

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[57] Dutch School System 57.

[58] Ibid, 58.

Training schools for working on ships or aircraft engineering also fit into this category. Students had to possess an MULO leaving certificate or an elementary technical course in addition to passing the technical college entrance exam. In 1959 these schools had 3,741 students.[61]

Sea-fishery and inland shipping schools provided training for fishermen and engine room supervisors. Entrance to this program required elementary education. Technical elementary level teacher training schools were available through evening classes. A MULO with mathematics proficiency was the admittance requirement. The program consisted of a two-year basic course followed by one year for teaching practical subjects or two years for teaching theoretical subjects. Additional training consisted of two years of evening classes. State Boards conducted the final examinations, and a piece of practical work had to be submitted during the program but only once the student had reached age 17. In 1959 the enrolment for both day and evening courses in this category was 5,727.[62]

Factory schools developed because of the increased industrialization and were sponsored and administered by large manufacturing concerns. The factory schools offered specialized professional training that pertained to a particular industry's requirements. The standards and duration of the programs depended on the specific nature of the factory.[63] The firm Gebroeders Stork (Stork Brothers) in Hengelo is a good example of the vocational training provided in factory schools. In 1868 the Stork Machine factory had been founded and almost immediately provided schooling for its workers combined with schooling for the workers of the Koninklijke Weefgoederenfabriek Fabriek (Royal Weaving Factory). Some socialist leaning Dutch academics accuse C.T. Stork of being a benevolent capitalist but this charge cannot negate the positive contribution he has made to educating the workers. It was true that Stork was a capitalist, but he was as concerned about the quality of life of his employees at all levels in his organization as he was about his profit margin. In his housing complex the engineers and the lowest workers on the corporation ladder lived side by side. Stork had several training programs for its young workers. The five-year program, for boys only aged 13 to 19 was offered on company time six to eight hours a week at the C.T. Stork School. The first three years were a repeat of elementary school and the last two were geared to a specialization for a position in the firm. Curriculum included reading, writing, mathematics, Dutch language, geography, algebra, geometry, science, mechanics, electricity, commerce, gymnastics material and sciences.

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[59] Ibid, 60.

[60] Annual Report 1960 52.

[61] Dutch School System 60.

[62] Ibid, 61.

[63] Material on the factory schools is difficult to find.

After 1880 Stork established a drafting program in which boys took evening classes four hours a week. High achievers were given additional courses. Factory exams were given to ensure that the subject was firmly entrenched. Senior Stork personnel taught all of the programs. Stork also provided for practical education when they linked a student with a senior experienced craftsman and taught the craft until the senior was convinced the student had mastered the subject. Stork also had a garden club, an orchestra, a choir, a gymnastics club and a soccer team so that the workers in a sense were together for much of their spare time. Stork is the only factory in the Netherlands that has never had a strike. In 1918 the modern and quite large Wilhelmina School was built at Stork's expense in the adjacent Industriestraat (Industry street) to accommodate the increased enrolment.[64] After 1931 this type of education was included in the 1919Vocational Education Act and subsidized by the State but the local area still maintained supplemental private lessons.[65] Many people who had worked at Stork indicated their favourable memories (if biased) as they informed this author that Stork education far exceeded a HBS or gymnasium program; Stork delivered practical education because it was topic specific and extremely thorough and suited to the various vocations. Unfortunately there is little material available about these Dutch factory schools for the English reading audience.

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[64] The Wilhelmina School later was divided into two types of schools, due to declining enrolments at Stork because so many workers had graduated and were permanently in their position and because of the need for new school buildings for the HBS program. The Stork school became the HBS Wilhelmina School. This impressive school building thus housed two separate schools, vocational and academic. This was unique because most Dutch schools only offered one program per school. This schools can be deemed a precursor to the later comprehensive schools.

Finally, specialized training colleges that focussed on textiles, the leather industry and mining offered both theoretical and practical training. In 1960 a total of 3,035 students were enrolled in these specific schools.[66]

b) Domestic Science Schools for Girls

Another branch of technical or vocational training was found in the different types of schools with varying names that catered strictly to domestic science programs for girls over age 12 who had completed six years of elementary school. These schools also had various educational levels. In 1959 the 254 elementary domestic science schools, of which only 10 were public, had 72,416 students enrolled equating to an average of 285 students per school.[67] Only one third of the junior elementary curriculum at the elementary domestic science school was offered but this was augmented by subjects such as cooking, home care, needlework and sewing. Students learned how to perform household tasks such as how to make a bed, how to wash dishes, how to dust, how to sew, crochet, knit and launder.

Another type of domestic science school catered to the rural element. The 218 rural domestic science schools, of which only four were public, had 30,480 girls enrolled in 1959 and catered to those who required training for rural households.[68] The advanced elementary domestic economy schools (senior secondary) provided training for girls who wished to specialize in specific female occupations, for example domestic economy. This training lasted from one to three years according to the nature of the profession selected; this was why the qualifications of students varied. Further specialization was available at the secondary domestic economy school for girls. These students had to possess an advanced elementary domestic economy school certificate, or one granted by the MMS or MULO. In 1959 domestic economy at its various levels was taught in 477 schools with a total enrolment of 102,531 students.[69]

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[65] The material concerning the factory training is derived from a Stork commemorative book. Tachtig Jaar Stork [Eighty Years Stork] (Hengelo, O.: Machinefabriek Gebr. Stork & Co. N.V. 1948), 276-282.

[66] Annual Report 1960 40.

[67] Dutch School System 66.

There were also other types of domestic science schools. These were arts and applied arts and craft schools that were independent schools as a rule but were sometimes part of a technical college. Curriculum at these schools included drawing, sculpture, painting, modelling, textile designing, and fashion and advertising sketching. They also taught pottery, gold and silver works as well as industrial design in these schools. Students were only admitted with a MULO diploma. In the 1958/59 academic year 4,923 students enrolled in this type of school.[70] The junior secondary retail trade schools required six years of elementary education as preparation. Ten of these schools existed in 1958/59 with a 1,650 student population.[71] The Dutch educational community placed this school into the advanced elementary domestic economy category. In 1957 the total expenditure for domestic economy training totalled fl204,000,000 with the State contributing fl142,000,000.[72]

c) Agricultural and Horticultural Education

Agricultural and horticultural education traditionally has held a significant place in the Netherlands because the country is quite heavily dependent on its agricultural produce. Like the other schools educational authorities divided this

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid, 63.

[70] Ibid, 64.

[71] Ibid, 64-65.

[72] Ibid, 65.

segment of education into three levels: elementary, secondary and post secondary agricultural and horticultural education. To add to the confusion, this type of education in 1960 did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Rather, it was the responsibility of the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries. All three levels of government: state, provincial and municipal contributed to this segment of the educational system. Elementary horticultural and agricultural schools provided nearly identical programs at this level. The requisite for entry into the secondary level of horticultural schools was a leaving certificate from the elementary level or completion of a general horticultural course. While the number of elementary agricultural training schools and courses decreased before 1960, the enrolment increased. The secondary horticultural training school numbers also decreased but there was a very slight student enrolment increase. The three agricultural levels were taught in a total of 230 schools while 89 horticultural schools focussed on that subject; both categories combined had 27,463 students.[73]

(i) Elementary Agricultural Education

Elementary agricultural education had a requisite of six years of elementary education and consisted of a four-year program. Students received five days a week instruction the first two years but this decreased in the third year to four days a week. Successful students received a diploma that qualified them to enter the next level of agricultural education. The agricultural vocational level offered specific training in various fields. In 1959 seven of these schools presented programs such as poultry farming, animal husbandry, dairying, agricultural mechanisms and flax growing. Students could also enrol in general as well as specific agricultural courses; they usually tied these to local areas and specific to the agricultural region. These courses required students to be both over age 15, and to have completed six years of elementary education. This program comprised 300 hours and was offered over two winters.[74] However a general course had to have been taken and passed before they allowed a student into a specialized course. The specialized courses had considerable variety: agricultural bookkeeping, farm management, theory and practice of fertilizers, feeding livestock, plant diseases and farm administration. The length of these specific courses varied from 30 to more than 130 hours depending on the subject. Two public and 230 private elementary agricultural schools were in existence in 1960.[75]

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[73] Annual Report 1960 57.

[74] Dutch School System 69.

(ii) Secondary Agricultural Education

Secondary agricultural education was taught at secondary schools and agricultural colleges. The agricultural secondary school had a one-and-a half year program. Two winter terms covered theory and a final term was devoted to a practicum. Future farmers attended these schools. Students at this level required farming experience, had to be over age 16 and possess a diploma from either a MULO school or school with a B leaving certificate or have completed the fourth year of a secondary school. As well an entrance exam had to be passed. In 1959 the Netherlands had the following agricultural secondary schools: 20 State, 17 Roman Catholic and 10 Protestant.[76] Six agricultural colleges were in operation in 1959: Deventer, Ede, Dordrecht, Groningen, Roermond and Leeuwarden. The State subsidized these schools. At the agricultural college level the three-year program consisted of theory combined with a considerable amount of practicum. At least six months of practical experience working on a farm was included in the program. An entrance exam and final examination completed the requirements.

Four other schools fitted into the category of secondary agricultural education. These were the secondary and the higher forestry and land resettlement schools at Arnhem, and the two dairy schools at Bolsward and 's Hertogenbosch respectively. Successful completion allowed graduates to obtain positions in the respective fields. Courses were also available at the secondary agricultural level that trained future agricultural and horticultural teachers. This program involved 400 hours and was spread over a two-and-a-half year period. A course in cooperative business administration and farm management was directed to training staff in agricultural cooperatives. Completion of a poultry farming course led to a teaching qualification in that subject of the agricultural program.

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[75] Ibid, 68.

[76] Ibid, 70.

(iii) Horticultural Education

In 1959 horticultural elementary education was offered at 66 public and 230 private elementary agricultural schools.[77] The topics taught included subjects such as fruits, vegetables, potato growing, bulbs and seed growing, flowers, flower arranging, tree planting, garden landscaping and maintenance, and horticultural techniques. These schools were practicum rather than theoretically oriented.

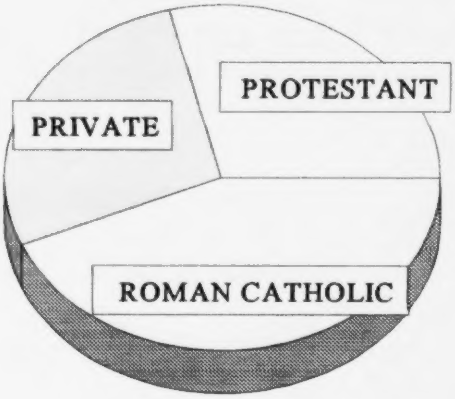
The cities of Utrecht and Frederiskoord offered secondary horticultural education at their horticultural colleges, in addition this was given at eight secondary horticultural schools. Additional training was available at a school for landscape gardening at Boskoop with the main purpose of training future horticultural teachers. Admittance qualifications mirrored those of secondary agricultural education. The diploma earned at this level qualified students to enter the Agricultural University at Wageningen. The total cost of this segment of education in 1957 amounted to fl20,000,000 of which fl17,500,000 derived from State grants.[78]

d) Social Pedagogical Education

In 1960 the Dutch understood social pedagogical education to mean social work and public health including training for domestic help assisting the aged. This category of training of education included training for child protection officers, working with children outside the jurisdiction of the compulsory education law, and leadership training for youth associations

CHART 17: SOCIAL PEDAGOGICAL

"PILLARIZATION"



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[77] Ibid, 72.

[78] Ibid, 73.

or organizations. Schools for advanced social work trained social workers, case workers, and supervisors. Admittance requirements to this program varied significantly from the other regulations because of the 18-year minimum age for entry. Consequently the Dutch believed that they could not link it too heavily to a student's educational history. For example, a student had to be 18 years and six months old and undergo a one-and-a-half year course to become a domestic. The three year and four month social worker programs contained both theory and practicum. Graduates would obtain positions in adult development, youth leadership, medical social welfare, general social care, and labour and staff management. They also offered training courses for regional nurses in some of these schools. Approximately 3,068 (2,969) students were enrolled in this program. Chart 17[82] indicates that the "pillarization" of society extended to these schools also: 29.1 per cent of the student population for this sector of Dutch education were in Protestant-Christian schools, 43.4 per cent in Roman Catholic schools, and 27.5 per cent were in private schools.

e) Teacher Training Schools

Another area where functionalism was quite apparent was in the complicated structure of the teacher training program. The 1952 Teacher Training College Act extended the length of the teacher training program from four to five years with the latter years focussed on pedagogical training. The teacher training program offered three levels: Cycle One or A level, for pre school to elementary school, Cycle Two, the B level, for grammar schools and higher schools and Cycle Three, the C level, for principals or headmasters. The teacher training programs were carried out in three different schools: for men, for women and in co-educational schools. The MULO leaving exam, three years of gymnasium, HBS or MMS qualified for entrance to teacher training schools. Students thus had at least three to four years of training beyond the elementary schools but they had to be over age 16 and submit a certificate confirming sound mental and physical health from the mayor of their town or village to gain admittance to any of the teacher training programs. Helena Stellwag, a Dutch professor of philosophy, alleged that the "training itself was also deficient from the educational point of view."[81] She deemed that too much stress was placed on theoretical knowledge at the expense of pedagogical training. Stellwag approved of the changes implemented for the Kweekschool or pre school teacher training program. This program was regulated by the 1955 Pre Elementary School Act, the first legislation for pre school in Dutch history. Before this legislation was enacted, pre school teachers did not require certificates or diplomas. The 100 teacher training schools throughout the country had an enrolment of 7,374 students in 1957.[82] By 1959 however this figure nearly tripled to a total of 21,059 students, 91 of these schools were for preschool and elementary teacher training, of which, as Chart 18 [83] illustrates, 27 per cent were in public, 29 per cent in Protestant, 41 per cent in Roman Catholic and three per cent in private schools. Obviously this area of Dutch education also featured the pervasive pillarization.

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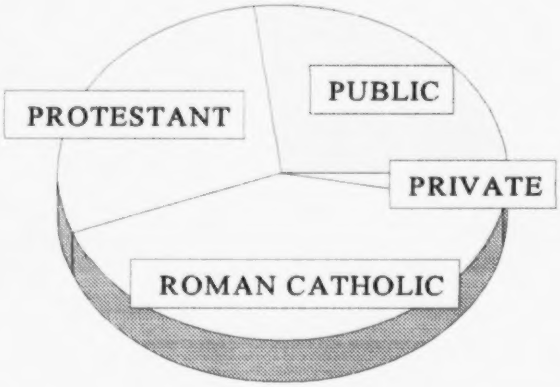
[82] Source: Ibid.

CHART 18:TEACHER TRAINING

"PILLARIZATION"



For pre school or elementary teacher programs, the students had to achieve their A certificate that required completion of a two-year program and a two-year part time program that counted for one full time year so three years in total. These students attended classes for 22 hours a week and had a practicum for an additional 10 hours a week. The curriculum at the first level only intended to broaden the knowledge of the teacher training students and did not include pedagogy. It provided a general type of instruction, in such subjects as Dutch language, literature and culture, chemistry, English, history, physics, geography, music, physical education, drawing, needlework for girls, biology, French, mathematics, and German. One could equate the completion of this two-year program as the equivalent to the 11th and 12th school years in North America. Successful completion of the A certificate qualified the graduates of the Kweekschool, or elementary teacher training school, to instruct at the pre school level.

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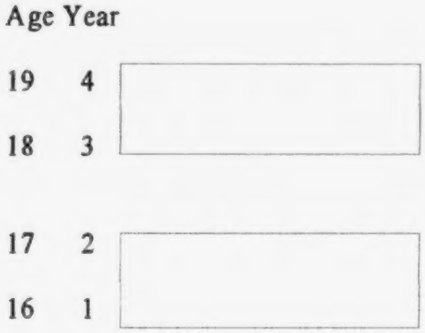
[81] Helena Stellwag, "Problems and Trends in Dutch Education," International Review of Education 3 no. 1 (1957): 56.

[82] John Mostert, The Netherlands: A Guide to the Academic Placement of Students from the Netherlands in Educational Institutions in the United States of America (Washington, D.C.: Publications Office, American Council of Education, 1961), 136.

[83] Source: Dutch School System 41.

CHART 19: TEACHER TRAINING I



Students obtained the B certificate after completion of the four-year program in which the last two years were half time as seen in Chart 19. Four hours per week of pedagogical instruction was mandatory at the B level. This program required 11 hours of classes per week for the part time evening program years.

To obtain what the Dutch call a full-fledged teacher certificate the student had to go through the complete five-year program that in turn was divided into three cycles as indicated in Chart 20. This was an entirely different program than that for the A level. Years one and two were the first cycles for students 16 to 18 who had to raise their knowledge levels before acceptance into the teaching program. Any student who failed the first year end exam was removed from the program. The third and fourth years were the second cycle for students aged a minimum of 17 but with a completion age set at 20. The second cycle graduate received the certificate entitled Akte van Bekwaamheid als Onderwijzer Diploma for Teacher Proficiency.

The third cycle curriculum in the fifth year included Dutch language and literature, geography, natural and world history, mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology, modern languages such as French, German and English, music, gymnastics, art and design, needlework (for girls only), pedagogy, didactics, philosophy of education and finally, Dutch social culture. Upon completion of this program the graduate obtained the Akte van Bekwaamheid als Hoofdonderwijzer [Head Teacher Proficiency Certificate] or Senior Teachers Certificate. Once a student received their diploma or certificate they were not allowed to work outside their profession.[84]

The MO Akten included in Chart 20 was the highest level or category of teacher training. This program was also divided into categories: MO Akten A and MO Akten B. The A certificate entitled the student to teach the three lower levels of secondary education and the B certificate allowed teaching in the latter, higher levels. The MO Akten method became quite popular because of the duration of the program, two part time years for A and four part time years for B. The courses for this program were offered at Utrecht, Groningen and both Amsterdam universities and were meant for those who wished to teach in the higher levels of secondary education. This was a recent development; Groningen only began this program in September 1958. But one cannot call this a program; most of the humanities courses were taught in departments of literature or philosophy. The mathematics and physics courses were offered by specific faculties in the universities. There was no Faculty of Education in the Dutch education system. The MO Akten student did not require a Kweekschool certificate. A student could enter this program with a gymnasium or HBS certificate.

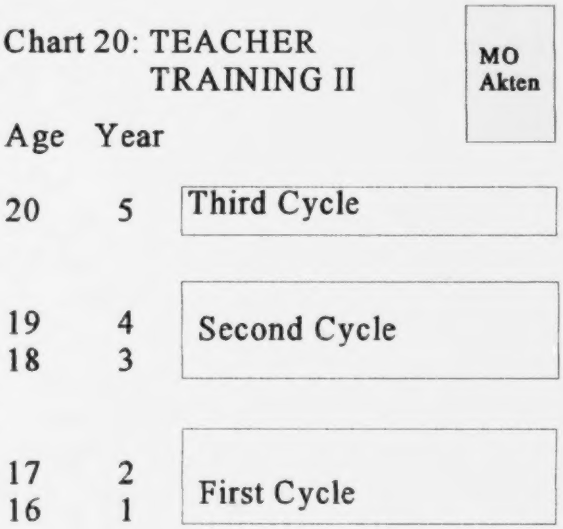


Chart 20: TEACHER TRAINING II

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[84] Martinus L. Lourens, Education in the Netherlands (The Hague: The Netherlands Information Bureau,1960), 19.

f) Other Schools

As mentioned earlier some students, for example barge crew children, were not bound by the Compulsory Education Act so the Dutch created educational establishments for them to ensure proper training. They largely geared this for boys and girls aged 14 to 17 who had completed the VGLO component of elementary education but did not wish to further their education. To prepare these students for everyday life, this type of school provided methodical and educational assistance, now called life skills, that the Dutch educational authorities believed helped in character development. Three formative institutes that were connected with national organizations provided this type of education: the National Curatorium Catholic Life Schools for boys and young men, the National Foundation for Mater Amabilis Schools for girls, and the National Vocational Training Centre for non Roman Catholic youths. Day classes had a 15,204 attendance rate while 22,507 students attended evening classes.[85] The Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences budgeted fl4,000,000 for these schools.[86]

(i) Fine Arts Education

Education in fine arts was offered in Amsterdam and Maastricht. The basic subjects taught included free and monumental painting, graphic arts, and sculpture. In addition, the students could take courses in cultural history, iconography, history of art and aesthetics, costume history, anatomy and perspective, architectural design, heraldry, and letter designing. Annual attendance stood at 1,000; the financial allocation to this program was fl708,000.[87]

(ii) Music Education

Higher school level music education was taught at the Royal Conservatorium of Music in the Hague and at conservatoriums in Amsterdam, Tilburg, Maastricht, Rotterdam and Utrecht. Annual enrolment in these programs averaged approximately 1,600 students.[88] The Royal Conservatorium received state funding; both the State and the municipality shared the funding for the others. The 1960 Budget allocated fl1,574,000 for higher music education.[89]

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[85] Dutch School System 77-78.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid, 80.

(iii) Dance Education

An independent department for dance education was established at the Royal Conservatorium of Music at the Hague in 1957. This department was responsible for artistic dancing and for those wishing to enter dance as a profession. It included choreography in the curriculum.

(iv) Theatrical Training

Training for the dramatic arts was provided at the Academy for Dramatic Arts in Amsterdam established in 1875. In 1950 the Theatre Academy at Maastricht was established which averaged 15 students annually. In 1956 they established the Arnhem Theatrical School. These schools had three year programs and all received state subsidies. The budget allocation for theatrical training in 1960 was fl165,000.[90]

(v) Archives School

A 1955 Royal Decree established the Archives School in the Hague. They intended this 14-month program for archival proficiency at the post secondary level. To be admitted to the program a student had to possess a master's degree in either law or philosophy from a Dutch University.

D. POST SECONDARY EDUCATION

In 1960 the Netherlands had six universities and five post secondary schools, which the Dutch called institutions of higher education. The functionalist element of society also permeated the post secondary level. Groningen, Leiden and Utrecht are State nondenominational or neutral universities. Amsterdam has two universities: the Amsterdam Free university

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[88] Ibid.

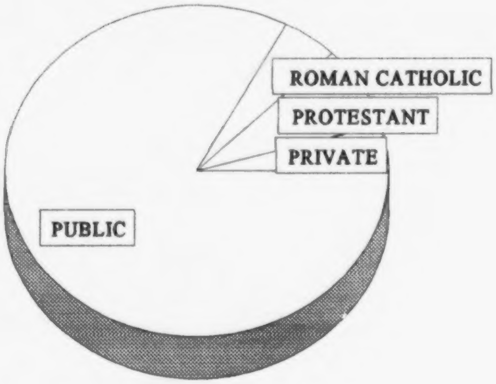
[89] Ibid, 81.

[90] Ibid, 82.

(Calvinistic) that is administered by a Reformed Protestant Foundation and the Municipal Amsterdam University. Nijmegen is a Roman Catholic university. The post secondary vocational institutes in 1960 consisted of the Agricultural University at Wageningen, the Technological Universities at Delft and Eindhoven, and the Economics Universities in Tilburg and Rotterdam (neutral). Admittance to these schools required possession of a technical college diploma that met specific requirements for a particular program.

Post secondary schools also experienced the "pillarization" of Dutch society; the percentages of these schools are illustrated in Chart 21.[91] The enrolment distinguishing the "pillarization" was 79 per cent at public and 4.5 per cent at private universities, nine per cent of students were at Roman Catholic universities, and 7.5 per cent at the Protestant universities.[92] The private sector that pertains to this chart was composed of post secondary schools such as Delft, Rotterdam, Wageningen and Tilburg. In 1960 the university faculties consisted of law, theology, mathematics and physics, literature, philosophy, and medicine. The state university at Utrecht also had a veterinary faculty. Groningen had an economics faculty while in Amsterdam economics and politics were included. Some universities offered combined faculties such as sociology and law, literature and philosophy.

CHART 21: POST SECONDARY "PILLARIZATION"



The Dutch did not have undergraduate programs at their universities; they did not adopt the idea of an undergraduate or bachelor's degree until the 1980s.

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[91] Source: Dutch School System 90.

[92] Ibid.

Every student that graduated from the university program received the equivalent of a North American Master's degree or the Dutch title of doctorandus. Students were free to choose subjects supplemental to their program requirements. Normally the university program lasted six years but law had a four to five year program while medicine took seven or eight years. The state budget for higher education and sciences in 1960 amounted to fl215,000,000.[93]

However, in the Netherlands few people before the 1970s reached university level because universities were still considered the bastion of the elite. The hurdles one had to encounter to get to that level were almost insurmountable; for that reason more students opted for the vocational post secondary programs. The Annual Report 1955 for example, indicated that the universities only enrolled 16,013 students in the 1953-54 academic year although this increased to a total of 16,539 in the 1954-55 academic year, indicating a very slight enrolment increase.[94]

Table 1- University Male/Female Ratios 1953-1955 -[95] indicates the enrolment fluctuations at the various universities of the male/female ratio. If comparing the two academic years one notices that the only university where new enrolments in 1954/55 showed a significant change was at Leiden: the new enrolment for women was 52 as compared with 38 males. This was unique because in all the other universities men outnumbered women in the new enrolment ratio. In all the other universities female students were a minority from a new enrolment perspective. This equation did not markedly change over the next decade. A significant enrolment increase, more than double the 1955 figures, occurred due to some legislative changes. The post secondary student population in 1960 stood at 37,725 compared with 35,131 in 1959, a seven per

cent increase.[96] The State allocated fl215,000,000 to higher education in 1960.[97]

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[93] Ibid, 90.

[94] Annual Report 1955 30-32.

[95] Source: Ibid.

TABLE 1: UNIVERSITY MALE/FEMALE RATIOS 1953-1955

Universities	1953/54 Males	1953/54 Females	1954/55 Males	1954/55 Females
Leiden	3,059	1,145	3,097	1,197
Utrecht	3,885	922	4,043	954
Groningen	1,762	419	1,840	429
Amsterdam	4,644	1,641	4,585	1,667
Amsterdam (Free)	1,572	199	1,740	229
Nijmegen	1,091	259	1,234	303
TOTAL	16,013	4,585	16539	4,779

In addition to all these schools and programs one must include some information about the Ministry of Education that governed most of the system. In 1960 the Ministry was composed of four main departments. Appendix D- Ministry of Education Organizational Structure - indicates how the Ministry was administered and how it was in turn subdivided. From highest educational level to lowest the departments were: one, the Department of Higher Education and Sciences, which pertained to post secondary education, two, the Department of Preparatory and Secondary Education that in effect dealt with the secondary level schools, three, the Technical and Vocational Education Departments that had jurisdiction over this type of training, and four, the Primary Education Department which not only administered pre school but also the advanced and supplementary elementary schools, the special schools and the teacher training programs.[98]

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[96] Annual Report 1960 90.

[97] Ibid.

Despite all the impressive statistics cited throughout this study, in 1960 as illustrated in Chart 22[99] only 51.6 per cent of the population had completed elementary school, 33.5 per cent passed the junior secondary level, 7.1 per cent completed senior secondary school, 1.4 per cent completed the higher vocational schools and 1.4 per cent attended the post secondary level and after perhaps 10 years earned their respective degrees. While not wishing to be comparative to other Continental countries, it must be noted that these statistics are not very different from other western European countries. But unlike other European countries the complex Dutch system and rigid insistence on subject centred curriculum and learning factual detail resulted in a "bigger drop out problem than in many other European countries: from 1961 to 1965, the proportion of those who failed to complete their course and to gain a certificate at a high school or its equivalent was 44 per cent."[100] This unbelievable statistic strongly indicates that the Dutch obviously erred in the initial placement or simply had expectations that students could scarcely meet. On the other hand, it can also be seen as a method of social control for they generally moved them to a lower category of school or dropped

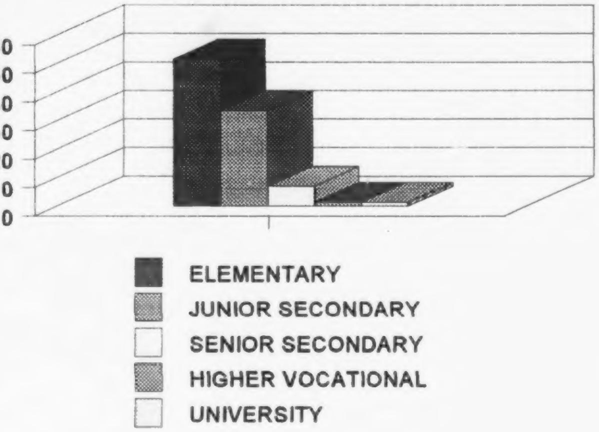
CHART 22: PERCENTAGES OF COMPLETED EDUCATION

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[98] More information concerning the Ministry of Education will be found in Chapter VII.

[99] Source: Johan Goudsblom, Dutch Society (New York: Random House, 1967), 96-97.

[100] Frank E. Hugget, The Modern Netherlands (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 147. See also Appendix E - Social Pedagogical Students/Final Certificates 1938-1958 - for an indication of the high failure/incomplete rate.

out of the system altogether. Such high drop out rates indicates conclusively that the system up to the passage of the 1963 Secondary Education Act was not only flawed but ineffective.

From an economic perspective that the Dutch deemed education to be one of the most important national priorities is evident from the financial figures cited throughout this chapter. The Annual Reports, the Central Bureau of Statistics and all the other sources consulted confirm this statement. The OECD Reviews of National Policies for Education -Netherlands Report for 1970 indicates that:

> the pattern of education development was not primarily determined by strict financial limits: the expansion of all sectors was pursued in the light of the goals chrystallized in the Dutch Report,* without an explicit rationing of funds....The hitherto particularly generous view of educational finance has been reflected in the high percentage of national product devoted to education. Not only is this currently higher than the average in Europe and North America, but it is expected to increase....[101]

For interest, Table 2 -Gross Public Expenditure on Education -[102] containing the numerical and percentage increases from 1951 to 1957 of public expenditure on education, has been included to prove these statements.

Table 2: GROSS PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION
x 1,000 guilders (£ 100)

	1951	**1952**	**1953**	**+%**	**1957**
Infants' education	19,138	21,083	24, 642	362	89, 292
Training of infants' school teachers	482	545	616	343	2 111

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[101] OECD Reviews of National Policies for Education-Netherlands (Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1970), 16.

[102] Source: Dutch School System 95.

Ordinary and complementary primary education	254,343	282,327	311,282	180	575,952
Specialised primary education	19,973	22,882	27,089	211	57,242
Advanced primary education	49,058	52,266	58,137	221	128,714
Training of teachers	7,990	8,773	10,524	285	30,024
Preparatory higher and secondary education	58,419	67,312	80,803	201	162,079
Technical and vocational education	69,563	80,978	96,372	215	206,792
Agricultural and horticultural education	7,900	8,596	9,421	217	20,460
Higher education	52,510	61,616	69,532	253	175,905
Other expenditure	7,436	7,919	8,448	941	79,475
TOTALS	**546,812**	**614,297**	**696,866**	**219**	**1,528,046**

The percentage column indicates the significant increase in expenditures from 1953 to 1957. The increase between 1953 and 1957 was the highest and largely due to the passage of the 1955 Pre Elementary School Act; the Infant School budget more than quadrupled as did the teacher training for this category. On the other hand, the budget for elementary education only doubled while the allocation for special education tripled. Teacher training for the secondary level also increased significantly. Preparatory higher and secondary also tripled. The figures that increased the most are designated as Other Expenditures, meaning administrative costs which jumped from fl8,448,000,000 to fl79,475, 000,000,[103] an unbelievable 941 per cent. Some of this was spent on building new schools and purchase of new blackboards and other teaching tools. The increasingly resources had to be spent on an ever expanding Ministry of Education. The reasons for this will be explained in Chapter VII.

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[103] Ibid.

E. CONCLUSION

One can conclude that the entire Dutch educational system had reached an excessive level of differentiation that attempted to accommodate all the students in accordance with their constitutional rights. The slight variation in programs proved extremely but needlessly costly. Seemingly, and in Dutch eyes, this is a very individualistic system, but they scarcely realized that it concomitantly categorized the student into a socioeconomic level from which there was barely an escape; social mobility was rare at this time in the Netherlands. In other words, the Dutch encased their system, due to their mirroring of functionalist practises, in an immutable rigidity that belied the so-called liberal Dutch mentality. It is scarcely surprising that the complexity of their system bewildered the Dutch educational community and that they were at a loss in regards to solutions.

It is now necessary in the next chapter to penetrate further back into Dutch education history to consider how such complexity arose.

CHAPTER III-THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to educational historian Dodde the historical development of the Dutch educational system can be divided into many historical epochs spanning approximately 200 years each. The era before legislation from 600 to 1200 although the longest, was of the least significance. The earliest period, with some type of ecclesiastical legislation occurred from 1200-1400; that consisted primarily of Roman Catholic education, and can only be considered an extenuation of the church. During the 1400-1600 period the educational system changed to reflect a Calvinistic world view; in 1580 Calvinism became the dominant religion and they suppressed the traditional Roman Catholic world view. The 1600 to 1800-period saw considerable structural additions through a proliferation of different types of schools. The 1800 to 2000 period can be deemed as general denominational (nonspecific, Christian but not one sect dominant) education. This delineation is useful but it can more easily be divided into two major stages: pre 1800 when education was entirely local and post 1800 when the Dutch created a national system. Before 1800 the various schools and the complicated structure had already developed through municipal and regional custom rather than through national legislation.[1] Since 1801, when national educational legislation was first enacted, the Dutch have attempted to unify their complex system so that students could advance without the detrimental complications they had traditionally encountered. The Dutch still have not fully achieved this goal and it is quite likely that they will not realize it until well into the 21st century. The origins of the reasons for the multitudinous problems in the antiquated and paradoxical system will be explained in this chapter. The frequent attempts from 1801 to 1963 to unify and simplify the system, especially at the secondary level, it will be pointed out, are quite instrumental in the historical development. As well, some failed attempts at implementing structural changes will be depicted and analysed.

The characterization of the historical development of the Dutch educational system will be more comprehensible if political, social, and economic determinants are included throughout because they invariably and significantly affected the system and still do so today. It is also important to note that the Dutch had no notion of secondary education until the late 19th century so that part of their elementary level was in fact equivalent to the North American secondary level and their higher schools were in practice post secondary schools. For that reason the elementary level plays a central role in any discussion of Dutch secondary education and cannot be precluded.

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[1] See N.L. Dodde, ...tot der kinderen selffs proffijt...:een geschiedenis van het onderwijs te Rotterdam [Until the children themselves benefit: a history of education in Rotterdam] ('s-Gravenhage: SDU Uitgeverij, 1991). This study is focussed on Rotterdam and is presented as a microcosm of the Dutch system.

A. TO 1800

1) 600-1200

No records are extant indicating whether or not there were schools in the Netherlands during Roman times largely because only the area south of the Rhine River was Romanized. However, Roman education was clearly divided into what we know today as elementary, secondary and higher education.[2] Only the wealthy used the services of the local magister for elementary education; after that the elite families sent their children to places such as Toulouse, Bordeaux, Lyons, Reims or Cologne for secondary and higher education. The Council of Toledo of 521 made teaching for those intended for the Church compulsory. Knowledge of liturgical texts and the service of the mass were obvious requisites for Church vocations and they taught these in monasteries and chapel schools. At these lessons future priests received instruction in reading, writing, singing, and mathematics as well as Church law. On the other hand, monks who never became priests also were taught in the monasteries. The Netherlands was slowly Christianized and the Holy See established a bishopric in Utrecht[3]which was responsible for Friesland, Zeeland, Gelderland, Overijssel, Holland and Utrecht. Groningen, Brabant and Limburg were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Luik. Records suggest that Theodardus, bishop of Maastricht, had given lessons as early as 665. The Emperor Charlemagne in 787 reconfirmed the educational aspect of the Council of Toledo[4] and chapel schools emerged in the eighth and ninth centuries in Utrecht,[5] Deventer, Oldenzaal, Emmerich, Elst, Tiel, Dokkum, Odilienburg and Stavoren.[6] These led to theological training institutes with at least 60 in existence by the time of the Reformation.[7]

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[2] See Henri Marrou, Education in Antiquity (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956).

[3] See Algemeene Geschiedenis 2 [General History] 219 for a map of the boundaries which have changed repeatedly.

[4] See M. Schoengen, Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederland [History of Education in the Netherlands] (Groningen: Wolters, 1911-1912).

After theViking era ended,[8] a distinct break became clear between strictly religious and other education.[9] Because of the breakup of Charlemagne's empire through the 843 Treaty of Verdun, they filled the power vacuum through dynastic marriages, but these produced underlying hostilities. During the 10th century a renewal of Christianity throughout the Netherlands saw many churches built, and this resulted in a severe shortage of priests.[10] In education the scholasticus who in turn two centuries later, was replaced by a rector, replaced the bishop who took over the administrative duties. A cantor who taught singing assisted him. There was only one cathedral school in the Netherlands, at Utrecht. Altogether there were three types of schools during this period: the lone cathedral school, the schools for monks and the parochial schools for the so-called common boys and girls aged seven to 12. These children as was quite common at the time, were taught by rote memory. The country was largely agrarian, everyone farmed, but it already had clear social stratification. The large landowners were temporal dukes, counts and lords who protected most of the people, lower class farmers, from raids in exchange for yearly tithes. But by the 12th century serfdom and feudalism had largely disappeared in the Netherlands.[11] This early date is unique in Europe and this development evolved for various reasons. One, the Netherlands was then known as Frisia and was populated by freemen who had never been serfs nor enslaved. The Frisians agreed to become part of Charlemagne's empire on the condition that they retained their freedom. Secondly, the church in Frisia neither expected nor required members of a society to be serfs or slaves. Thirdly, the western Netherlands required labourers for the massive drainage projects (polders) and those who agreed to work in the Netherlands agreed to do so only as freemen. The idea of freedom thus emerged quite early in the Netherlands and proved to be quite instrumental in the educational arena from then on.

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[5] The personal animosity between Charlemagne and Gregory of Utrecht, a descendant of the Merovingians, was the reason why Utrecht, which up to then had been the educational centre of the area, did not develop as rapidly as some of the other cities in the Holy Roman Empire. See R. Stachnik, Die Bildung des Weltklerus im Frankreich [Development of the clergy in France] (Paderborn, np, 1926) for more details.

[6] See J. Versluys, Geschiedenis van de opvoeding en het onderwijs II [History of child rearing and education] (Groningen: Wolters, 1878), 24.

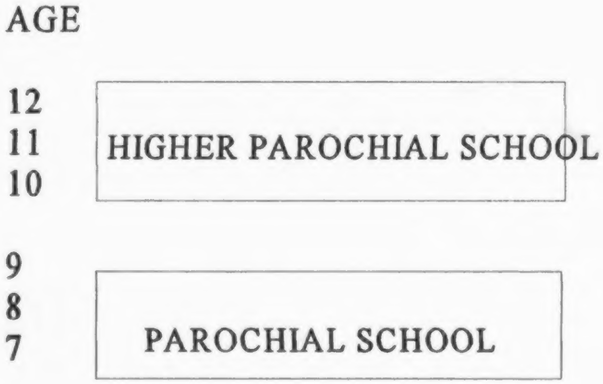
[7] N.L. Dodde, "Geschiedenis van het onderwijs" [History of Education] in Onderwijs: Bestel en beleid 3 Onderwijs in ontwikkeling [Education: Structure and Management 3, Education in development] J. A. van Kemenade et al, eds., (Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1987), 36.

[8] The Vikings affected the Netherlands in the same manner as all the other European countries.

[9] See D. Illmer, Erziehung und Wissenvermittlung im frühen Mittelalter [Education and Academia in the Early Middle Ages] (Kastelhaun/Hunsruck: Aloys Henn Verslag, 1979), 35.

[10] See P.J. Blok, Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse volk I [History of the Dutch People] (Leiden: Wolters, 1912), 204.

CHART 23: SCHOOL STRUCTURE
1200-1300



2)1200-1400

Despite these earlier developments the history of Dutch education formally began in 1179 when one decree of the Third Lateran Council stipulated that all the parochial schools were to be merged with any other types of educational institutions. The Council required that church jurisdictions place parochial schools in each area for the common people, most of whom were farmers. Chart 23 illustrates the school structure to

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[11] See B.H. Slicher van Bath, The Agrarian History of Western Europe AD 500-1850, trans. Olive Ordish (London: Edward Arnold, 1963).

1300. These schools were meant to teach seven to 10 year olds to prepare for active participation in Church services in the hope that some of them would become church functionaries. Latin and songs, by way of the credo, psalms and prayers were taught. The number of schools in the Netherlands was far greater than in surrounding countries.[12] As a result some impressive literacy statistics are available in the Netherlands for this period. As in most other European countries they taught a bastardized Latin alongside Dutch that had emerged as the vernacular language. Latin reading and writing techniques were adapted.[13]

The rapid urbanization of the diversely populated area caused important changes in the geographic area known as the present day Netherlands. Towns emerged: 's Hertogenbosch in 1184, Zutphen in 1190, Middelburg in 1230, Nijmegen in 1217, Domburg in 1223, and Alkmaar in 1254.[14] The 38 towns that emerged comprised 27 per cent of the population.[15] This nexus of economically specialized towns created a more socially structured populace based on occupation. The social stratification intensified and three distinct groups emerged: 10 per cent were considered economically well off while 40 per cent consisted of a middle group that consisted of bakers, brewers, shoemakers, weavers, and painters, all those required to help maintain a town.[16] The remainder were considered the poor. Town growth resulted in changes in the schools and the first Dutch educational struggle occurred as a direct result of urbanization.[17] This was a power struggle waged over control of the schools. The town governments wanted control over their parochial schools, which with a more extended program were called Latin schools.[18] The local school owners, usually the nobility, were not all that keen on relinquishing their power. Eventually the towns bought the schools that then became publicly funded; this was a unique concept and a very early yet fundamental development in Dutch education. This struggle did not relate to religion because during this time everyone belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. This is one of the themes that winds through Dutch educational history, in time it would culminate into a much longer struggle between public and private schools.

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[12] W. Boyd, Geschiedenis van onderwijs en opvoeding [History of Education and Child rearing] (Utrecht/Antwerp: Aula-boeken, 1969), 200.

[13] See Omer Vandeputte, Nederlands: Het verhaal van een taal [Dutch: The Story of a Language] (Rekkem: Netherlands: Vlaams-Nederlandse, "Stichting Ons Erfdeel vzw", 1986).

[14] See N. Japikse and R. Post, Handboek tot de staatkundige geschiedenis van Nederland [Handbook of state history of the Netherlands] ('s-Gravenhage: Wolters, 1947), 125.

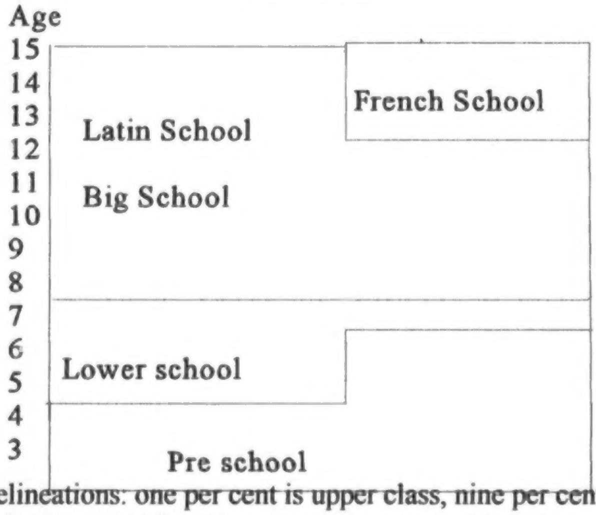
[15] Dodde, Dag Mammoet:Verleden, heden en toekomst van het Nederlandse schoolsysteem [Goodbye, Mammoth: Past present and future of the Netherlands school system] (Louvain/Apeldoorn: Garant-Uitgevers, n.v., 1993), 22.

[16] Dodde in Kemenade, 43. See also Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston, 1959). The structures mentioned in this study are remarkably similar to those in the Netherlands even though they were of different time periods, indicating that social stratification rarely changes. Kahl divides

3)1400-1600

The period from 1400 to 1600 saw significant educational development and greater school type differentiation due to a shift from a strictly agrarian to a more agrarian-commercially oriented economic system in which towns played a significant role. During

CHART 24: SCHOOL STRUCTURE
1400-1500



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the classes into the following delineations: one per cent is upper class, nine per cent is upper middle class, 40 per cent is lower middle class, 40 per cent is working class, and 10 per cent is lower class.

[17] Professor Dodde argues that there have been educational struggles due to a variety of reasons, not solely religious, in the Dutch education system since its inception. In one of his studies he calls for an end to these private versus public struggles because the curriculum of these schools differ so slightly.

[18] See R.R. Post, Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de middeleeuwen [Schools and education in the Netherlands during the middle ages] (Utrecht/Antwerp, Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1954), 120.

this period the educational institutions also began to lose some of their religious significance. Chart 24 indicates that the distinction between the primary and secondary schools became clearly visible; this was the period that initiated the second thread of Dutch educational development; the pervasive and excessive educational classification of schools. At the pre school level children aged three to seven, who learned prayers and psalms, were kept busy with their teacher reading to them. One can consider this a nursery or dame school that stayed in the system until the 20th century. Girls also attended the dame schools or the lower schools where they could learn their religious obligations and the domestic sciences; these were supplemented by poor schools. The lower levels of the Latin or grammar schools were autonomous, and evolved into the lower school of the elementary level in which the pupils learned Dutch and reading. Children to age seven attended these classes not only to learn to read and write, but also to study the Bible. In the town schools pupils aged seven to 15 learned Latin grammar and syntax. The students were taught these subjects through choir practice, and to serve the Church through ceremonial functions. These Latin schools were called Grote School [Big School] and they were for boys only aged 10 to 15. This school was split into five classes or grades which used classical texts in their curriculum. The Big Schools were privileged in the sense that town governments subsidized them. The vernacular was taught to boys and girls ages eight to 10 at another school known as the Duutse or Duitse School; this was similar to the town or village schools but focussed on Dutch as a language. The future differentiation of Dutch education began in earnest when some towns separated their Big School, and the two-year program for eight to 10 year olds became elementary school. In addition schools in Zwolle, Deventer and Utrecht created two classes for 15 to 17 year olds that students attended upon completion of the Latin school program. This was similar to first year post secondary education today. Authors from classical antiquity: Cicero, Plato, and Aristotle were the focus of the curriculum.

A major educational development, which added to the school differentiation and has had repercussions to the present day, occurred during the late 14th century in the Netherlands. In some cities another type of school appeared in response to the parental displeasure of the excessive classical orientation offered at the Latin schools; they wanted their children to benefit from a more practical commercially oriented education. These schools, which became known as French schools, were not subsidized financially by the towns.

These were fee paying, another thread of the educational development, but there was a popular demand for them in the cities because French was the language of commerce and diplomacy. The French schools offered courses in commerce, bookkeeping, business, reading, writing, mathematics, and the French language; boys only aged 12 to 15 years attended these schools. In Amsterdam the first French school was established by Jacob van Schoonhoven who had moved there from Bruges. The introduction and rapid proliferation of these particular schools contributed to a remarkably high literacy rate in the Netherlands by the standards of the time. By the end of the Middle Ages 60 per cent of men and 40 per cent of women could read.[19] An average of 60 pupils attended each elementary school.[20] Also of significance, the bijschool, poor schools, were made compulsory for problem children who today would be called deviants. In addition, Sunday schools were established for those children unable to attend on weekdays. By 1500 there were 1600 schools altogether with approximately 10,000 students, indicating an average of six students per school, from a total population of about a million people.[21] It should be noted that post secondary education did not exist in the area comprising the modern day Netherlands during this period; students went to the universities of Louvain or Cologne that were part of the Habsburg Empire.[22]

As previously noted, the literacy rate in the Netherlands was quite high. Many historians attribute the future Dutch Revolt and subsequent Golden Age to this development. Geoffrey Parker in his classic study entitled The Dutch Revolt wrote the following:

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[19] C.B. Bisschop, Poly-onderwijs zakboekje [Poly-educational pocketbook] (Arnhem: Koninklijke PBNA BV, 1988), A1:4.

[20] E.P. de Booy, Weldaet der scholen: Het plattelands onderwijs in de provincie Utrecht van 1580 tot het begin der 19e eeuw [Going to school: rural education in the province of Utrecht from 1580 to the beginining of the 19th century] (Utrecht: Stichte Historische Reeks, 1980), 32 , 267.

[21] Post, 10.

[22] See Rashdall Hastings, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages ed., F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden, (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), and Hilde de Ridder Symoens, ed., A History of the University in Europe I, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

> One of Prince Philip's entourage, Vincente Alvarez, noted in his journal that almost everyone knew how to read and write, even women, and further investigation lends his surprising claim considerable support. There were 150 schools in Antwerp alone in the mid-sixteenth century and there was a flourishing schoolteachers' guild (founded in the 1460s). Other towns were likewise well endowed with schools, many of them founded since 1500: Ghent had forty schools (twelve of them grammar schools), Flushing had six and Veere (with a population of only 2,000) had three; Breda had fourteen schoolmasters,.... Although there is a lack of similar quantitative data for other areas, the town school at Zwolle, which had 2,000 pupils by 1500, was famous over the whole north-east Netherlands, and the general high regard for education in an isolated province like Friesland appear in such casual evidence as the will of a sixteenth - century farmer which stipulated that of the three brothers [who were to inherit], he who turns out the most learned will have the major part of the property.[23]

Parker argues that this educational system played a very significant "central role in the religious opposition to Philip II. In the sixteenth century book learnin' led to Calvinism." [24] This would not be the only nor the last time that the Dutch used their educational system to resist absolutism.

The town school of Zwolle mentioned above was one administered by the Brethren of the Common Life, a group of devout laymen who formed an association to teach and supervise throughout the schools. In 1376 Geert Groote (1340-1384) founded The Brethren of the Common Life Order in Deventer. The Order financed its activities by copying manuscripts which had reached the Netherlands through cultural interaction with Romans, Franks, Austrians and Germans. Most of the humanist leaders were in some way connected with the Brethren Order. This is the group from whom the famous Dutch humanist

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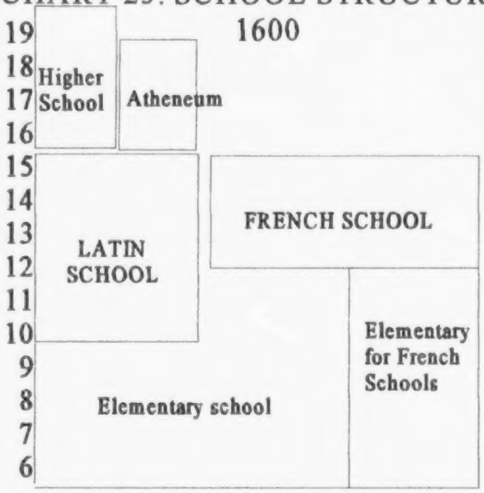
[23] Geoffrey Parker, The Dutch Revolt (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1977), 21.

[24] Ibid.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466?-1536) received his education.[25] Johan Wessel and Alexander Hegius were also educated in these schools.[26] The Brethren had 45 houses or schools throughout the Netherlands area and by 1600 enrolled 2000 students at their Deventer school.[27] The Brethren schools were recognized throughout Europe as intellectual and humanistic centers for the members were well acquainted with the historicallly important source material of such diverse cultures as the Romans, Franks, Italians and Germans. William Boyd effectively argues that the northern Renaissance first stirred in the Netherlands because of the receptivity of the Brethren schools to accept humanism in education.[28]

CHART 25: SCHOOL STRUCTURE 1600


19
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13
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7
6
Higher School
Atheneum
LATIN SCHOOL
FRENCH SCHOOL
Elementary for French Schools
Elementary school

The strong differentiation of the system had clearly established itself in the 1400 to 1600 period. Chart 25 indicates the changes in the structure from the preceding 200 year period. The system consisted of four types of elementary schools for ecclesiastical or commerce related vocations. (The ancient Greeks only had three types of elementary education). Town and village schools offered elementary and secondary level schooling (although it was all considered elementary schooling). The Latin schools competed with the French, commercial schools. There were no post secondary institutions until the late 16th century in the area that comprises the present day Netherlands. For such a small geographical area the proliferation of schools, the educational diversity and the high literacy rate should be considered quite impressive.

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[25] Guild education also played a role but it was insignificant. Formal vocational education did not exist for training was done on the job. Future bakers, brewers, weavers, bricklayers, cutters, glassmakers, surgeons, and booksellers could begin their training at age 12. No theory was taught to the youngsters.

[26] Erasmus wrote about his distaste for these schools and alluded to treatment that was not conducive to the reputation of these schools. Whether or not there is any validity to these claims has to be weighed against his flair for theatrics.

[27] Frank Pierrepont Graves, A History of Education During the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1970), 146.

[28] Boyd, 170.

4)1600-1800

a)Political Developments

The so-called Golden Age of the Netherlands, 1600 to 1700, brought a prosperity that has virtually been unrivaled in European history.[29] This is quite an achievement considering the small size of the country; this disproportionate role on the world stage has never been replicated. This is the period for which the Netherlands is most famous and the extant primary material in many languages on this period is quite impressive. One can easily get lost in this material. During the Golden Age the political contours of the modern Dutch nation became visible. At the top of the governing structure were the secular rulers of Brabant, Holland and Gelre, (present day Gelderland province), below was the Bishop of Utrecht and below him were the lords and dukes who had emerged from the various dynastic marriages of earlier centuries. This created a loose association of provinces, all separate and typically the aristocrats all fought each other; during the 15th and 16th centuries they lost their independence first to a Burgundian ruler,[30] who brought French influence through the French schools, and then to the Habsburg rule of Holy Roman

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[29] See C.R. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800 (London: Hutchinson Co. Publishers, 1965). See also J. MacLean, "Het handel- en nijverheidsonderwijs," [Commercial and vocational education] Kleio (Nederland) 18 no.1, (1977): 3-30, and P.Th.F.M. Boekholt and E.P. De Booy, Geschiedenis van de School in Nederland: vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de heidige tijd [History of Schooling in the Netherlands from the Middle Ages to the present] (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987), 15-16.

[30] Mary of Burgundy ruled the area from 1477 to 1482. Her marriage to Maximilian of Habsburg produced their son Philip, who in 1504 with his wife Joanna, (sister of Catherine of Aragon), inherited the Spanish crown. This was the link that tied the Netherlands to Spain.

Emperor Charles V (1500-1558).[31] The Netherlands was not formally annexed to the Habsburg Empire until 1548. From an educational perspective Charles V proved beneficial. According to Martinus Lourens; "Emperor Charles V demanded regularly salaried teachers, systematic education of the poor and imposed a school tax."[32] His son, the fanatically religious and intolerant King Philip II (1527-1598) succeeded him and unlike his popular father, oppressively restricted Dutch freedoms.[33] James Davis wrote that:

> He maintains nearly perpetual hostilities with the infidels, persecutes heretics more than any other ruler and claims to be the readiest and loyalest defender of the pope and the apostolic see. In everything he does he seeks to appear as a true Catholic king, guided by his conscience.[34]

However, the Dutch strongly upheld the tradition of individual freedom that they had established since Emperor Charlemagne's era. The Dutch fiercely resisted Philip's absolutist state organization, his campaign of excessive repression, and demanded autonomy that he fought vociferously. A rebellion ensued and the Dutch independent spirit emerged under the leadership of William of Orange

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[31] Charles had inherited Burgundy from his father Philip of Burgundy in 1506. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain were his grandparents. He was born and raised in Ghent (Belgium) making him familiar with the culture of the area and was considered a good king by the Dutch.

[32] Lourens, 9.

[33] King Philip was born and raised in Catholic Spain. His cold and haughty demeanour proved highly unpopular in the Netherlands. His petty rules and regulations endeared him to no one. Philip's life revolved around his goal for Spain and the Roman Catholic Church to have worldwide dominion. He was thwarted in this endeavour by among others, Queen Elizabeth I of England when the Spanish Armada was defeated in 1588. Considerable literature, in English especially, is readily available on the subject of Philip II and the struggle he waged against Dutch independence. An interesting perspective is presented by Edward Grierson in King of Two Worlds: Philip II of Spain (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974).

[34] James C. Davis, ed., Pursuit of Power . Venetian Ambassadors' Reports on Spain, Turkey and France in the Age of Philip II, 1560-1600 (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 81-84.

(1533-1584).[35] In 1579 the Dutch declared independence from Spain, through the so-called Union of Utrecht and created the Republic of the Netherlands in 1581. This resulted in the fight for independence that the Dutch call the Eighty Years' War.[36] The newly created governing body, the States General had regional representation in which the province of Holland was most important. The Netherlands of today had clearly emerged as a state. Present day Belgium, which had been part of the Habsburg Netherlands before the Revolt, was left to the Spaniards and remained Roman Catholic.[37] A Spanish-Dutch truce, from 1609 to 1621 was followed by sporadic battles that the Spanish generally lost. Since the 1588 Armada failed, the Spaniards were tired, had precarious finances and King Philip II seemingly lost interest. Most people see this as purely an ideological struggle or religious struggle, but economics were just as crucial a factor. Jonathan Israel convincingly argued this viewpoint. Although the English and French, who were at war with Spain, had recognized Dutch independence as early as 1596, Spain only legally recognized the Netherlands as an independent state with the signing of the Treaty of Munster in 1648.[38] The aftermath of the Thirty Years' War was a difficult time for the Dutch. The seven Provinces through the States General , which was an elected assembly, opposed centralizing tendencies on the part of the House of Orange. They did not resolve this issue, jealously guarded rights of the people on one hand and government on the other was a struggle for many decades and this is the one thread that supersedes all the others; the Dutch believe that centralization leads to inequality. Nevertheless, by the end of the century a national consciousness had developed. This era thus saw the disintegration of the Roman Catholic church and Spanish domination and the emergence of a Republic with the formation of a legally accepted national church that rapidly gained control over all elements of society.

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[35] The Dutch revere William of Orange whom they view as the founder of their nation. The literature on William of Orange is quite extensive in the Netherlands. The best English language source is C.V. Wedgwood's study entitled William the Silent (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968). However, it is time for a new treatment. The collection of essays in Political Ideas & Institutions in the Dutch Republic by Herbert H. Rowen and Andrew Lossky, (Los Angeles: The William Andrews Clark Library, UCLA, 1985), provide an interesting perspective on this era of Dutch history.

[36] Pieter Geyl's The Revolt of the Netherlands (1555-1609) (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1961) is an excellent English language source concerning this conflict.

[37] See Geoffrey Parker for the vicissitudes of the political boundaries.

[38] See Jonathan Israel, The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World 1606-1661 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986). Israel argues that the cause for the conflict was not restricted to political reasons; economic reasons played as significant a role. This study is painstakingly researched and very well written.

b)Economics

From an economic perspective the voyages of discovery by Portugal, Spain, and the Dutch led to mercantilism which characterized the Golden Age in the Netherlands that brought vast wealth to the newly created Republic. The creation of the Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie, VOC, East India Company in 1602 and the West Indische Compagnie, WIC, West India Company in 1621, facilitated the flow of wealth. The Netherlands during the 17th century was the hub of world trade with approximately half of the world's commerce flowing into its coffers. The impressive industrial and commercial development was unprecedented in history and has never been equalled since. The Netherlands became the crossroad of Europe and the world's first international bank was established in the Netherlands in 1604.[39] After the end of the Thirty Years' War in1648 Roman Catholic refugees moved to Amsterdam bringing their capital with them and this increased the cultural vitality of the Dutch. Later, many prosperous French Huguenots moved to the Netherlands after King Louis XIV in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes. George Rothrock states that ultimately the revocation "cost France tens of thousands of productive citizens."[40] These people benefited the Netherlands for they were highly skilled, many were rich merchants, and happy to live under the Calvinist dogma which they so fervently believed. The voyages of discovery and subsequent transoceanic trade also quite favourably contributed to the economy, this trade was the mainstay of the Dutch economic ascendancy. Asian textiles, for example, resulted in a trade of five million florins in 1697.[41] The Dutch contributed to a great social change with their trade in tea and coffee which became the favoured beverage of the wealthy. Great industrial growth also occurred in beer brewing, ship building, fishing, and the cloth industry.[42] Dutch ships transported products from the Baltics to the Mediterranean; as a result of their primacy trade became commercialized and internationalized. Wool, linen and agriculture were the strongest features of the booming economy that created exceptional wealth in certain cities. Simon Schama noted that the wealth was so enormous that it became embarrassing, hence the title of his book.[43] The agrarian sector also enjoyed immense growth; they built important dikes and land reclamation in Utrecht, Friesland and Holland was quite significant and contributed to a high employment rate.

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[39] The Bank of England, by comparison, was not established until 1694. It was underwritten by Dutch finances and used Dutch financial techniques.

[40] George Rothrock and Tom B. Jones, Europe: a brief history (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Company, 1975), 321. See also, George A. Rothrock, The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979).

c) Religious Change

Dutch prowess in the commercial field certainly was a reflection of the popular French commercial schools. But the tumultuous political, religious and economic changes promoted wider educational change, virtually turning schooling up side down, especially from an ideological perspective. That is the religious factor, another one of the threads that permeates the historical development of the Dutch system. After the 1579 Union of Utrecht, Calvinism had emerged as the religious catalyst of the Eighty Years' War and strengthened the societal ties to God; the Netherlands became Protestant during its independence struggle. The 1586 Synod of the Hague decreed establishing schools in the cities while the 1618 Synod of Dort, at which debate lasted for seven months, provided for waiving school fees for indigent children in a village under the jurisdiction of a civil magistrate. But this development should be seen as more than a religious endeavour.[44] Bernard Vlekke convincingly argues that Dutch practicality, when it suited their purpose could create contradictions:

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[41] Boxer, 176.

[42] See Boxer.

[43] See Simon Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (London: Fontana Press, 1988). This very enjoyable study, (one chapter is entitled "Housewives and Hussies") is the center of a historical controversy; some Dutch academics disagree with Schama's interpretation. See Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Leendert F. Groenendijk, "The Republic of God or the Republic of Children? Childhood and Child rearing After the Reformation: an appraisal of Simon Schama's thesis about the uniqueness of the Dutch case," Oxford Review of Education 17 no. 3 (1991): 317-335. For an entirely different viewpoint see Geyl as noted in Footnote 36.

> Calvinism was encouraged, protected, and given a privileged place in the new Republic, but only because it was proof positive of the irreparable break with Spain. The Netherlands became Calvinist because they were anti-Spanish,....[45]

So although the Union of Utrecht had provided for freedom of worship and freedom of conscience the fact is that the Calvinists, firmly entrenched in the most important and influential positions, imposed their beliefs and insistence on dogmatic conformity on a populace weary of war and struggle. This fundamental social change, a cultural upheaval, resulted in an ideological struggle that would permeate the educational community but would not be eliminated until 1795. Thereafter it was replaced by a reversal of the denominational struggle that will be discussed later in this chapter. Although William of Orange converted from Catholicism to Calvinism because he recognized the magnitude of the independence movement, he favoured religious tolerance for both Catholics and Calvinists and originally would not agree to suport the Union unless Catholics had equal rights. This is where the idea that the Dutch are a tolerant nation emerged. After his assassination in 1584, however, the Dutch would thereafter tolerate only Calvinism as the national faith, a fact that was quite inconsistent with the tolerant reputation the Dutch enjoy.[46] The cultural upheaval that occurred during this time obviously created fundamental social change in which education played a formative role.

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[44] R. Freeman Butts provides a concise overview of the educational development in countries that adopted Calvinism in The Education of the West (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973). But as with all the other sources consulted the Netherlands is scarcely mentioned.

[45] Bernard H.M. Vlekke, Evolution of the Dutch Nation (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945), 158.

[46] In a country proud of its perceived liberal views and willingness to accept such luminaries as Voltaire and John Locke, exiled for their often times radical views, it seems paradoxical and difficult to believe that the Dutch people during the 16th and 17th century had no freedom of worship. However Roman Catholics and those of other faiths

From an educational perspective, Calvinism encountered some opposition and this became another school struggle that was fought between regional governing bodies and the Dutch Reformed Church hierarchy. The struggle related to the intolerant nature inherent in the extreme Dutch strain of Calvinism then and the practical elimination of non-Calvinist believers from the societal structure. Despite a surface tolerance of other religions the Calvinists did not legally recognize Anabaptists, Lutherans or Roman Catholics; they considered these false religions and those who adhered to these beliefs were considered second class citizens.[47] These groups suffered economic, political, and social obscurity until 1795. This is certainly a paradox and "strange...in the country where religious tolerance was born and in which ecumenical tendencies have led to a *rapprochement* between the churches probably unequalled anywhere else:..."[48] Quite clearly the Dutch were not tolerant of non-conformists at that time. Schama argues that:

> ...the Reformed Church, in the spirit of the Synod of Dort, continued to regard schools as it had once regarded the universities-as instruments for the suppression of heterodoxy. The young were to be cleansed of improper doctrine by daily doses of the Heidelberg cathechism and an otherwise unrelieved diet of scriptural texts.[49]

The struggle for religious supremacy, that belies any ideas of religious tolerance, was initially won by the Dutch Reformed Church when the 1619 Synod of Dordrecht declared that teachers' adherence to the Calvinist faith was mandatory, suggesting that the Dutch governing class did not share the tolerant

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still remained; they could not practice their faith publicly so they worshipped clandestinely.

[47] These groups sent their children to illegal schools which were conducted in secret.

[48] Kallen, 26.

[49] Simon Schama, "Schools and Politics in the Netherlands, 1796-1814," The Historical Journal 13 no.4 (1970): 593.

view of societal rights. Boxer writes that:

> municipal and Calvinist Church authorities kept an eye on these private schools to the extent of ensuring that they were not opened without their permission and that all the teachers were certified members of the 'true Christian Reformed Religion'.[50]

This is not to say that immediate mass conversion occurred despite Calvinist attempts to mould the people into believing their ideology. In the rural areas Calvinism was slow to take root and many people remained Roman Catholic. Their children attended the Latin schools financed by the incomes derived from the confiscated Roman Catholic foundations. These schools were allowed because the Dutch Reformed Church wanted the students to have a background in classical antiquity. On one hand this suggests tolerance but on the other they restricted the Latin schools to a uniform curriculum established through an edict of the Synod of Dordrecht in 1625. Yet another school struggle involved the Calvinists and local governments that insisted that education was strictly a local affair and that educational qualifications should be based on competence rather than religious ideology. This insistence on dogmatic conformity proved a problem in some areas; one school, at Jaarsveld, had to remain closed for nearly 20 years because no Calvinist teacher was prepared to move there. The rigid dogma and insistence on a strict and sober life as advocated by Calvin were not appreciated by Roman Catholic parents who not only wished to retain their own old textbooks because they could scarcely afford new ones, or by the teachers who were financially dependent on the parents. A teacher charged six five cent pieces (stuivers) a month for basic instruction but could charge eight to 12 five cent pieces if additional subjects were added to the curriculum.[51]

By 1730 more than half the Dutch population had become Calvinist mainly through the elementary level educational policies that the Dutch Reformed Church controlled. Calvinists believed that everyone should be able

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[50] Boxer, 156.

[51] E. P. de Booy, "Plattelands onderwijs en ouderactie," [Rural education and parental action] Spiegel Historiael (Netherlands) 12 no.9 (1977): 254.

to read the Bible; how to read the meaning of God's word was deemed crucial as the way to salvation. Calvinist education was focussed strongly on elementary rather than secondary levels; they regarded elementary school as much more important than secondary Latin education and therefore the secondary level had a wider and more tolerant program. This is the reason why the Dutch consider that their historical educational development follows a zig zag pattern: from elementary which generally lasted to age 16 to post secondary and finally, in the late 19th century, the Dutch allowed some schools to function at the secondary level. By the late 18th century the Calvinist rigidity had relaxed somewhat and its power had lessened because of declining membership.[52] This was largely due to the 1795 Constitutional provision of equal rights for all the Dutch citizens despite their religious affiliation. Thus an increasing diversity of religious groups over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries led Baptists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Jews, and Roman Catholics to establish their own private non-subsidized schools.[53] So from the 1580s to 1795 there was no official recognition of the non conformist groups in society and the Dutch people had a religious ideology imposed on them without debate. Clearly the fundamental principles of Dutch freedom failed to include religious freedom. Obviously Calvinism had a tenacious hold on the nation and this created problems. As a result of these events societal segmentation became increasingly strong in the 20th century and it can be argued led to intolerance of those not in one's particular group.

d)Educational Delineations

The structural educational delineation that is so familiar today became even more prevalent during the 1600-1800 period. To present a structural overview it is easier to begin at the top. Post secondary education evolved later in the Netherlands if compared with other western European countries, but was firmly in place by the end of the 17th century. As discussed earlier, post secondary schools legally became universities in the 1876 century but until that time they were considered Hogere School,as higher schools, (not to be confused with the North American concept of high school) of education.

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[52] Vlekke, 316. The author notes that by 1899 only 48.5 per cent of the Dutch population adhered to Calvinism and by 1920 membership declined even further to 41.6 per cent.

[53] See the articles by H.G.A. Janssen, "De Israelitische Armenscholen in Gelderland 1836-1869,"[The Jewish schools for poor children in Gelderland 1836-1869] Studia Rosenthalia (Netherlands) 11 no.2 (1977):157-197 and "Staatsrechtelijke en Culturele Aspecten van het Israelitisch Onderwijs in Nederland to 1869,"[Juridical and cultural characteristics of Jewish education in the Netherlands up to 1869] Studia Rosenthalia (Netherlands) 11 no.1 (1977):40-80.

Leiden's higher school, which William of Orange granted to the city that suffered so severely during the independence struggle against the Spaniards, became the first post secondary institution. It was initially a theological school for the Dutch Reformed Church's future ministers. The higher school at Leiden was established on 8 February 1575.[54] This created a competitive spirit among provinces and resulted in many other higher educational (post secondary) institutes being founded. On 29 July 1585 Franeker in the province of Friesland was established; Napoleon abolished it in founded its progressive or modernistic university on 23 August 1614.[55] The higher school at Utrecht was established on 26 March 1636, and Harderwijk's higher school on 12 April 1648.[56] The world famous botanist Linnaeus studied at Harderwijk; tourists now visit his rooms and view his garden. However, Harderwijk too closed due to lack of student interest. Nijmegen received its higher school in 1656.[57] So within one century a country of approximately two million inhabitants benefited from six post secondary institutes.

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[54] There is a considerable amount of information available about this university but all these sources cannot be listed in this study. However some informative and interesting studies are M.W. Juriaanse, De Stichting van de Leidse Universiteit [The Establishment of Leiden University] (Leiden: E/.J. Bill, 1965), or J.J. Woltjer, De Leidse universiteit in verleden en heden [Leiden University past and present] (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1965).

[55] See W.R.H. Koops, Opstellen rond de Groningse Universiteit [Establishing Groningen University] (Groningen: Universiteitsmuseum, 1990).

[56] See D.A. Wittop Koning, "Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion der Matrikel der Hohen Schule zu Harderwijk," [Contribution to the reconstruction of the roll of the higher school at Harderwijk], Janus (Netherlands) 6 no.1-2-3 (1980): 91-100 and K.H.M. Mars, "De Latijnse School en het Fraterhuis te Harderwijk," [The Latin School and the friary at Harderwijk] Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland (Netherlands) 16 no. 2 (1974): 154-236.

[57] Napoleon abolished both Franeker and Harderwijk in 1812 but with the end of European hostilities they were reopened in 1815. The effects of their closure

The Dutch divided the post secondary system into two levels of some type of liberal education. First as preparatory schooling that consisted of Latin, Greek, literature, mathematics, physics, astronomy, philosophy and metaphysics. Today this is considered undergraduate education. If the requirements were met, the student received one of three titles depending on the chosen discipline: magister artium, minister, jurist, or physician. At the second level, which can be considered equivalent to the modern post graduate studies level in North America, the student entered a specialization that took five years to complete and if successful the higher school awarded the student with an academic degree. Attendance at these schools was low, only 2.5 per cent of the 18 to 25 age group being enrolled during the time of the Republic.[57]

Contemporaneously the post secondary system created new quasi-university type institutions named athenea or illustre schools. They established these schools for those, aged 15/16 to 20, who wanted a post secondary level education but without a doctorate degree because they neither wanted nor needed the prospect of an academic title. Curriculum at these institutions was restricted to arts, law and medicine whereas they could teach theology at the other post secondary institutions. One school, the Atheneum of Amsterdam was founded in 1632 by Remonstrant sympathizers. There also was one at Deventer. Many students enrolled in a few studies in the 10 illustre schools to ultimately earn qualifications for entry to the post secondary second level. Athenea were never legally established as educational entities and disappeared in the 19th century.[58]

The Latin schools stood one step below the post secondary level. These

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was too great to overcome and both institutions soon closed permanently.

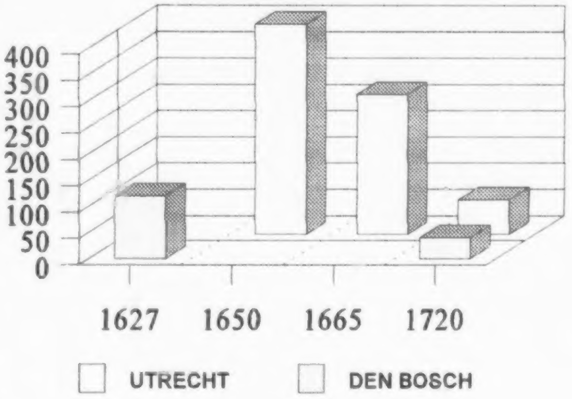
[57] W. Th. M. Frijhoff, "De arbeidsmarkt voor academici tijdens de Republiek," [The labour market for academics during the Republic] Spiegel Historiael 17 (1982): 502. Attendance in other countries was lower.

[58] In 1876 this Atheneum Illustre school became the Municipal University of Amsterdam.

schools experienced further change from an independent Roman Catholic secondary establishment during the 1400 to 1600-era to a Christian Reformed school for preparatory education for future post secondary students in the 1600 to 1800-era. Latin schools held classes six days a week although not Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. This school traditionally was meant for boys aged 10 to 15. The curriculum included Latin, Greek, grammar, counting and computations. Educating children in the Christian Reformed dogma was considered of utmost importance. The elite attended Latin schools but attendance at these schools declined throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. By 1700 only one per cent of 12 to 17 year olds attended them.[59] Boekholt and De Booy, for example, indicate that the Latin School at Utrecht had 400 students enrolled in 1650, but this declined to 266 in 1665 but by 1720 enrolments stood at 62 students; the Latin School at Den Bosch had 120 enrolled in 1627, but only 40 students in 1737.[60] Chart 26[61] illustrates these figure more effectively by a bar chart. This indicates that enrolment fluctuations also occurred at this level despite its niche for the upper echelon of society. post secondary institutions.

CHART 26: LATIN SCHOOL

ENROLMENT



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[59] W. Frijhoff, "Van onderwijs na opvoedend onderwijs," [From education to child rearing education] Onderwijs en opvoeding in de achtiende eeuw [Education and child rearing in the eighteenth century] (Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1983): 24. See also Schama, Embarrassment or N.L. Dodde, Het rijkschooltoezicht in de Bataafse Republiek [The state school in the Batavian Republic] (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1968).

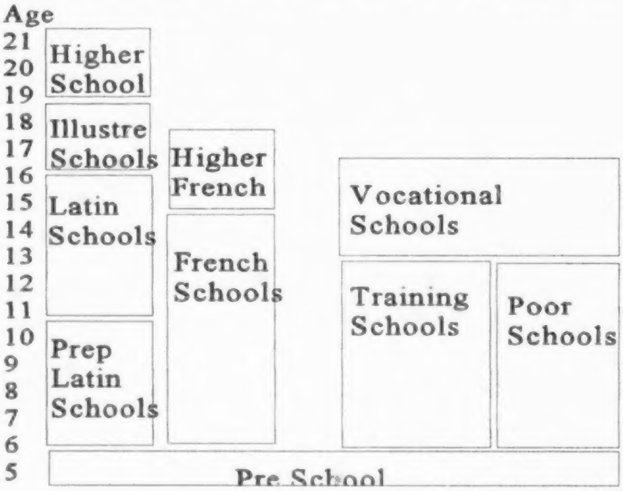
[60] P.Th.F.M.Boekholt and E.P.de Booy, Geschiedenis van de School in Nederland: vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de heidige tijd [History of the school in the Netherlands: from the Middle Ages to the present] (Assen:Van Gorcum, 1987), 64.

[61] Source: Ibid.

One reason for the declining enrolments at the Latin schools at the secondary level in the 17th and 18th centuries was that it was being overtaken in popularity by the more pragmatic French schools. Various Latin educational establishments during this period converted into French schools or became combined Latin and French school for students aged 12 to 15. At these schools the curriculum included modern foreign languages, mathematics, geography, and history. The French school was developed from a commercial educational institute into an establishment for general liberal secondary education in the 20th century.

The elementary school level consisted of independent schools at two levels: one for those aged three to five and the other from ages six to 11. While not compulsory, 57 per cent of the age group attended these schools.[62] Boys as well as girls enrolled. The curriculum included religion, reading, writing and arithmetic. In addition village schools were located in the rural areas; a sexton generally led these. The town schools, however, obtained the services of a teacher. Poor children attended but this was entirely dependent on their parents' economic circumstances.

CHART 27: SCHOOL STRUCTURE 1800


Age
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
Higher School
Illustre Schools
Latin Schools
Prep Latin Schools
Higher French
French Schools
Vocational Schools
Training Schools
Poor Schools
Pre School

Other educational establishments also emerged in the 1600 to 1800 period. Some were particular or specialized schools such as art academies that focussed on education in arts. Spinning and work schools also were established but these held little interest for the general population. No thought was given to establishing schools for vocational education because the guilds still performed this function; they much improved their teaching techniques over those used a century earlier. In any case Dutch society firmly believed that they best learned a particular vocation on the job; practicum is still a very strong component of Dutch vocational education. As Chart 27 illustrates, by 1800 the Dutch had four different categories of elementary education which were geared to social stratification.

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[62] Dodde, "Geschiedenis," 62.

E)Economic Decline-18th century

The general economic decline of Dutch society ironically was concomitant with the latter half of its Golden Age and after that worsened appreciably. Because the decline occurred in small steps that singularly had little effect, no one noticed until cumulatively it was too late to rectify the situation. The Dutch has risen to such heights that holding the dominant position much past 1700 was impossible. They simply lacked the resources and the labor to maintain their Golden Age levels of operation. The English overtook them and the Dutch never again led on the world stage. The decline is far more significant than is generally known; what makes it unique is that educational achievement in literacy, numbers of schools and local legislation increased.[63] This overwhelming and entirely unexpected economic decline was due to a variety of factors.[64] One, the many English Navigation Acts, which were intentionally created to stop the lucrative Dutch trade, were quite effective in their purpose. The 1650 Act, for example, prohibited foreign ships from trading in English colonies. The 1651 Act decreed that colonial goods had to be carried in English ships with a crew at least 75 per cent English.[65] Naturally these Acts detrimentally affected the Dutch economy. Commerce with Portugal, Spain, and France declined. Sweden and England as leaders quickly replaced the Netherlands in the seafaring trade.

Politically and economically the many European Wars of the 17th and 18th centuries the Seven Years' War, the War of the Austrian Succession, and the Four Anglo Dutch Wars had catastrophic effects on the Dutch economy.[66] The wars drained the Treasury, overstrained Dutch strength and led to ruinous financial loans. Moreover, Stadholder William of Orange, (1650-1702) who was married to England's Mary Stuart, daughter of exiled King James II, and King of England from 1689 to 1702, had a very strong dislike for absolutist monarch King Louis XIV (1638-1715) of France; they considered each other their greatest enemy. Louis, conversely, resented the very idea of a Republic of the Netherlands and he was further irritated by the fact that it had become a Protestant state. So the Netherlands, in the throes of its deconomic decline, was at war when it could least afford to be so.

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[63] See Dodde, ...tot der kinderen selfs profijtt.

[64] MacLean goes into considerable detail concerning the economic decline.

[65] Alan Isaacs, ed., Dictionary of British History (London: Pan Books, 1981), 254.

Moreover, the economic mainstays of the Golden Age had degenerated into near oblivion. With the collapse of Haarlem and Leiden's industry the Dutch were no longer the favoured commercial intermediaries.[67] To their peril the Dutch had also neglected the expansion of German, French, and English commerce and industry. Skilled labour left the Netherlands at an alarming rate. In Edam and Rotterdam shipbuilding declined for few ships were required; consequently, the Zaanse shipbuilding industry completely collapsed.[68] The brewers, too, were at a disadvantage because beer had been replaced as the main beverage by tea and coffee, ironically through Dutch endeavours. In the agrarian sector grain prices were lowered in 1750 seriously affecting that industry. Further deterioration in the economy was due to the cattle plague that came in three stages, 1713-1720, 1744-1756 and 1768-1786 and led to the decline of the dairy industry.[69] Compounding the decline in 1791 was the dissolution of the West India Company (WIC) and in 1800 the East India

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[66] The Four Anglo Dutch Wars occurred in 1652-1654, 1665-1667, 1672-1674 and 1780-1784.

[67] See Vlekke.

[68] Czar Peter the Great of Russia received his shipbuilder's certificate from his apprenticeship at the shipyards in Zaandam. The excellence of the instruction was not equated anywhere.

[69] See J.A. Faber, "De achtiende eeuw," [The eighteenth century], De economische geschiedenis van Nederland [The economic history of the Netherlands] J.H. van Stuyvenberg, ed., (Groningen: Wolters,1979): 125.

Company (VOC) due to high debt. After 1770 the labor intensive industries such as textiles and shipbuilding virtually disappeared in part because raw materials sent to the Netherlands were substandard and production standards fell. Buyers naturally favoured foreign suppliers. Since they neither knew nor understood new methods for labor or technical improvement - because the Netherlands did not industrialize until the late 19th century - many jobs were lost. All these elements combined to create severe structural unemployment and led to mass pauperization. Thus, the 18th century was an age of severe economic decline; all the cultural and economic accomplishments of the Golden Age had all but disappeared.[70]

Further problems were created when the French Revolutionary forces invaded the Netherlands in 1795. The Netherlands wsa renamed the Batavian Republic and shortly after that became subject to Napoleonic ambitions.[71] The economic situation did not improve much for around 1800 the agricultural/commercial society had a glut of unschooled workers. The guilds were still educating workers but enrolment was low and guild education by the 19th century was impeded by the new technical methods. As a result the Dutch created other types of schools. Arts, or drawing schools for future draughtsmen and evening schools emerged. These schools necessarily were narrowly focussed. In addition, industrial schools that had been established in the 17th century, in practise these became spinning and industrial schools and taught students work habits and methods to make them productive citizens. The addition of these various schools contributed to the development of the chaotic system. Yet teaching standards were low due to lack of teacher preparation; many teachers knew very little about the specific subjects they taught. The quality of teaching had deteriorated to such a low standard that pupils who had graduated from the Latin schools could barely follow the post secondary lectures. Not surprisingly by 1800 there were complaints at many levels about the quality of the entire education system.[72] The stagnation of the Latin schools that was so prevalent in western Europe obviously did not escape the Netherlands.

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[70] H.F.J.M van der Eerenbeemt, Armoede en arbeidswang [Poverty and working conditions] ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), 86. According to van der Eerenbeemt this massive poverty continued well into the 19th century. From 1830 to 1850, 30 per cent of the Netherlands population lived in poverty. Source: Anton K. de Vries, "De twintigste eeuw," [The twentieth century] in De economische geschiedenis van Nederland [The economic history of the Netherlands] J.H. van Styvenberg, ed., (Groningen: Wolters, 1979): 262. By 1850 many people lived under minimum subsistence; charity and alms were the order of the day. Poverty became a severe societal problem and led to significant crime increases.

[71] See I. Leonard Leeb, The Ideological Origins of the Batavian Revolution: History and Politics in the Dutch Republic 1747-1800 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973).

Other than the schools previously mentioned, several other schools also had emerged in the 1600 to 1800 period. Various religious denominations supported the poor schools financially. In 1774 the Dutch Reformed Church established a school in Rotterdam for girls who intended to earn their living as dressmakers. These were known as sewing schools. Students learned knitting, darning, alterations and sewing. By 1832 the school had 70 students.[73] This success led to a secular evening sewing school being created in 1833 with 35 students enrolled. In 1834 it had 82 students and in 1835 expanded to 100 students.[74] The unexpected student increase led to yet another school being opened; this was more in the mould of a modern domestic science school for girls aged 12 to 16. The curriculum at this school included important household subjects. How to cut material for sewing, how to launder clothes, how to iron, how to wash dishes, how to cook, were the subjects considered most important in the curriculum. The two-year program was taught five nights a week and contained 2.5 per cent of the age group.[75] Eventually these schools fused into domestic science schools.

Obviously the Dutch had a great variety of schools with curriculum content suitable for each element of society. The chaotic and prolific creation of schools was not the dilemma with the Dutch educational system. The problem lay in the fact that there was no governance at all over education, no government control or a guiding government department, nothing concerning education was regulated much less planned. Everyone did exactly what they wanted and showed little concern or interest in other schools. Consequently, the system evolved with very little structure in an inchoate and haphazard fashion. No thought whatever was accorded on a national level by the government to renewal of a system that no longer fitted the Dutch world view of 1800. The "lovely chaos" had by this time become a tradition.

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[72] J. Hartog, De spectatoriale geschriften van 1741-1800 [The spectatorial writings from 1741-1800] (Utrecht: Gebr. Van der Post, 1890), 65.

[73] Dodde, ...tot der kinderen selffs proffijt... 269.

[74] Ibid

[75] Ibid.

B. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Clearly a new vision was necessary. In 1800 the Dutch population approached two million and this increased by 50 per cent to more than three million by 1850.[76] Religion still played a dominant role in Dutch society and certainly was a factor in the educational changes encountered during the 19th century. On one hand the Roman Catholics wanted the Latin schools to play the central role, while on the other hand the Calvinists wanted elementary schools to be dominant. Both denominations wanted to use religious education to gain new adherents to their faith. In 1796 the government finally eliminated the favoured, privileged position of the Dutch Reformed Church; it had lasted 200 years. Instead of adhering to the dogmatic Calvinism the governing authorities deemed the educational system as generally Christian with no specific denomination receiving special favours or a superior position in the school system as traditionally had been the case. The general national viewpoint by this time was that humans were rational beings and could make their own decisions regarding their faith. No doubt Enlightenment principles and French Revolutionary doctrine had considerable influence on Dutch thought, but these would create problems not yet solved satisfactorily.

By far the most important and significant changes concerning the proliferation of the educational differentiation occurred during the early 19th century period. Around 1800 the differentiation between public and private schools became absolute but still did not put an end to the historical struggle between the two systems. Public schools were financed by public funds through taxation whereas special or private schools were financed by unions, foundations and parents and the denominational groups. This struggle led to a large number of mid-19th century educational legislative Acts that will be discussed within the context of political, social and economic developments.

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[76] The Dutch population increased at its highest percentage from 1881 to 1911. The following figures indicate this: in 1851 the total population numbered 3,309,000, in 1881 it rose to 4,013,000 and in 1911 it stood at 5,858,000. Source: B.R. Mitchell, European Historical Statistics: 1750-1970 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975).

1)The Society for the General Good

The liberal influences that resulted in changes and improvements in Dutch education that occurred during the 19th century did not evolve by themselves. As noted, historically the Roman Catholic Church and then the Dutch Reformed Church had been in control of education that developed haphazardly but had a denominational basis. But various groups, whether social or political, had been quite involved in and realized the need for educational reform, at least since the 1760s.[77] These Societies were without a doubt generators of educational modernization in many of the areas in which they operated. In the Netherlands the most prolific and socially beneficial group was the Maatschappij van 't Nut van 't Algemeen, Society for the General Good, (hereafter the Society) which was founded in 1784 by Jan Nieuwenhuizen, (1724-1784) a Mennonite clergyman from Monnikedam whose endeavours were carried on by his son Martinus.[78] The Society membership also included Lutherans, Baptists, Mennonites and other dissenting groups. Structurally the Society was divided into cells or departments each administered by an eight-man committee; it grew into more than 1,000 "departments," not only in the Netherlands but throughout the Dutch colonies.[79] The Society was responsible for disseminating new teaching techniques based on the pedagogical methodologies of Johann Bernard Basedow (1724-1790) and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827).

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[77] This phenomenon is not unique to the Netherlands. A proliferation of different societies emerged due to both evangelism and religious revivalism which catered to specific elements of society on the Continent and in Great Britain.

[78] Dodde, in Het rijkschooltoezicht goes into considerable detail about this era of Dutch education. The story is far more complicated than it appears in this dissertation.

[79] Simon Schama, Patriot and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands 1780-1813 (London: Fontana Press, 1992) documents the contributions of the Society quite clearly.

Subsequently the Society provided not only libraries in cities and new textbooks but also circulating libraries and newspapers. It viewed educational reform as imperative; this soon became the central focus for national politics. The Society advocated a completely new educational system and was quite influential in persuading the adoption of a comprehensive public elementary education program.[80] The new Batavian Constitution under the French regime embodied the principle that they give indigent children their education through a poor fund. A Commission was established and first reported on 14 October 1796 and again on 29 November 1796. Consequently in 1798 the Society published what would become the very influential Algemeene Denkbeelden over de Nationale Onderwijs[81] [General Reflections on National Education]. This Report focussed on a number of educational points: teacher training, school buildings, student quotas, universal schooling, minimum salaries for teachers, improved school buildings, modern teaching materials, teacher examinations, finances among others, that they deemed vital.

The policies noted in the Society's Report became part of the 1801 Wet voor het lager onderwijs, Elementary Education Act that it has to be clearly understood laid the foundations for the future national educational system. This Act created a minimum program for all the elementary schools and for the first time regulated teachers' qualifications and created the Inspectorate. Many members of Dutch society at this time strongly believed that a moral revival was necessary to alleviate the perceived corruption, the luxurious lifestyles and the venality of luxuries that had arisen during the Golden Age. Moreover, the radical aspect of the French Revolution was the catalyst for indoctrinating the youth into subservience through schooling which was seen as a panacea that would eliminate any thought of political rebellion. However, at the same time the perennial education question emerged: should traditional methods be used or should education be more child centered. The Society, however, was quite cognizant of the fact that education should be child centered and promoted the idea that children were not to be treated as beasts who required severe punishment. The Society strongly opposed corporal punishment.

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[80] See Dodde, Een onderwijsrapport ('s-Hertogenbosch: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1971).

[81] The full title is Algemeene denkbeelden over her nationaal onderwijs, ingeleverd in den jaare 1796, van wegen de vergadering van hoofdbestuurers der Nederlandsche maatschappij: tot Nut van't Algemeen, aan de commissie uit de Nationaale Vergadering, representeerende het volk van Nederland; benoemd en gelast tot het ontwerpen van een plan van openbaar nationaal onderwijs.

As a result of this Report the Agency for National Education was established in 1798 - this became the future Ministry of Education- the first to appear in Europe. J. H. van der Palm (1763-1840)[82] became the Agent for National Education, (equivalent to Minister of Education today) in 1799 and he wrote Memorie van 1801,[83] [Memory of 1801], which advocated a centralized state educational policy. Consequently the first Elementary School Act in 1801, developed by Van der Palm, was largely based on the Society's Report. They introduced vocational training so that the poor children through the vocational curriculum, could be educated equally to the burgher children.[84] Van der Palm divided the Republic into "school districts," which had local boards an arrangement that was carried out with a heavy reliance on the Society's support. The Society's own Normal Schools in Rotterdam, Groningen, and Amsterdam prospered and produced the first Society teachers, Society examiners and Society inspectors.[85]

The Society established an educational Inspectorate and annual inspectors' meetings were initiated. They published these proceedings annually in a journal entitled in Bijdragen, [Contributions], in the Hague.[86] Despite this progress local authorities were not always enthusiastic about the inspectors nor the various

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[82] Professor van der Palm had taught Hebrew at Leiden University.

[83] The full title is Memorie van den Agent der Nationale Opvoeding, gevolgd van een drietal staatstukken, betrekkelijk de invoering der schoolwetten van 1801 en 1803, en van de Voordragt van den Raadspensionaris R.J. Schimmelpenninck, van het ontwerp der schoolwet 1806. (Leiden: np 1854).

[84] Philip J. Idenburg, Schets van het Nederlandse schoolwezen 2n ed. [Sketch of Dutch schooling] (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1964), 150.

[85] See N.L. Dodde, ...tot der kinderen selffs proffijt.

[86] These were the forerunners of the Ministry of Education and Sciences' Annual Reports.

Society departments that had branches throughout the Netherlands.[87] Inspectors were often met by complete indifference or belligerence. They made the inspections according to population density and since inspectors could scarcely visit each school the required three times a year they established a Regional Council that included parents, teachers, and municipal representatives. The Council in turn reported their conclusions to the inspector.[88] This suggested considerable parental involvement in Dutch education. These inspections were not easily carried out for considerable pressure was placed on the Inspectorate by incompetent, barely literate teachers who refused to comply with the new regulations for fear of losing their livelihood. Quite often the teacher had been appointed by a local official and the problem of competency became a bane to the Inspectorate. Several examples suggest this. In 1823 when an inspector visited the town of Almelo, he found a 77-year-old teacher in the Latin school who was unable to obtain a pension from the municipality and therefore had to teach.[89] In Leeuwarden an inspector discovered that an 80-year old teacher gave lessons in the Latin school.[90] So clearly the Inspectorate had many issues to deal with in their tasks. This issue did not only pertain to the Latin schools. It must be noted that in "1808 about half the teachers were under thirty-five, but over two-thirds of the remainder were over sixty."[91]

The teachers were not the only obstruction faced by the Inspectorate.The Dutch Reformed Church, which had frequently appointed one of its own members to teach, was not impressed with the Inspectorate either because it was more concerned with indoctrinating its dogma. The Church feared that deviation from its program could instill ungodly thoughts in the youths. This double edged opposition to the Inspectorate was not the only impediment it encountered. The inspectors were only juridically allowed to examine public institutions. The dame schools for example, where conditions could be horrendous, were excluded from inspections made by Society members at this time.[92] The various educational groups and levels, which legally should have cooperated, failed to do so;[93] the governing authorities soon realized that more legislation was required to stop the stalemate.

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[87] See Dodde, Het Rijksschooltoezicht.

[88] Schama, "School and Politics": 595.

[89] R. Reinsma, "De Latijnse school in de 19de eeuw," [The Latin School in the 19th century] Spiegel Historiael (Netherlands) 11 no.2 (1976): 93.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Schama, "School and Politics": 596.

2) The 1806 Elementary School Act

After van der Palm was promoted to the position of chair of the Council of the Interior, Adriaan van den Ende, (1768-1846) became the authority in charge of the Agency. Emperor Napoleon decreed that any schoolmaster had to be proficient in French before receiving a teaching license. Despite the fact that the Imperial University established by Napoleon, controlled the Dutch school system, Van den Ende was scarcely concerned about enforcing French regulations for administratively the system was autonomous.[94] With the inspectors he laid the foundations for the future public elementary system at the 1804 annual meeting.[95] Van den Ende was especially talented in his appreciation of the problems inspectors confronted, and he believed that the best way to solve the problems was to nationally legislate inspections and examinations. This led to a new Act in 1806 that in essence made the national government responsible for educating the youth. Van den Ende's primary goal was to provide elementary schooling to the whole population rather than simply educating the elite. This liberal, egalitarian approach was quite advanced; few other countries matched this. Van den Ende believed that everyone could become a moral citizen if given the chance to be educated. However, he believed that education was strictly an elementary level proposition; he considered the very idea of a universal secondary education level and system to be pure nonsense.[96]

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[92] W.M. Nijkamp, Van begijnenschool naar kleuterschool [From beginning school to kindergarten] (Groningen: Wolters, 1976), 56.

[93] This lack of cooperation among various groups has intensified the segmentation in Dutch society and has plagued the country for centuries. In modern times it was most evident within the Resistance groups during World War II. Everyone was out for their own gain, using religious and political ideology as their basis. Many of the leaders of specific groups unfortunately were primarily concerned with their individual prestige and success at the expense of many other far more important elements such as safety, cohesion, unity and cooperation.

[94] In all the literature consulted Van den Ende is completely overshadowed by the tenure of Van der Palm yet the former should be considered equally responsible for laying the foundations of the modern Dutch system. For some reason his predecessor receives all the glory. This farsighted man is the unsung hero of the model Dutch 19th century education system. He saw imperfections yet tried to create a model system.

[95] According to Schama in Patriots and Liberators 538, Van den Ende was born "into a large family in Delft, van den Ende, like so many others involved in the reform of education, had become a predikant at Rosendaal in Brabant after taking a degree at Leiden. In many respects he was a typical product of the "Nut," [Society] passionately concerned with the social, evangel [sic] and practical Christianity. He was an admirer of Priestley's On the Corruption of Christianity and Paulus' egalitarian gospel On Equality.

The 1806 Wet voor het lager schoolwezen en onderwijs in de Bataafse Republiek, Elementary Education Act in the Batavian Republic that passed with 47 for and 11 against,[97] was clearly the most important piece of the early national educational legislation. An extension of the jurisdiction of the Inspectorate to all the categories of elementary schools whether public, private or semi-private was the beginning of the regulations that would later overwhelm the Agency. Inspectors were quite occupied with the large number of schools in the elementary system. For example, the 1811 Annual Report noted that:

> ...there were 4,551 elementary schools in the country for a pupil population of around 190,000. Even more impressive was the fact that of this number, 1,775 were fully public schools, 581 fully private, and 281 semi-private endowed institutions, the remainder being made up by miscellaneous establishments like kindergarten, Jewish Talmud Torahs

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He had also edited William Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity. But in addition to a scholarly inclination towards rationalism and humanism, he was a model bureaucrat who had entered the Agency in 1800 and rapidly established himself as an energetic and efficient co-ordinator of the as yet rather unwieldly machinery of inspection, publication and examination."

[96] See N.L. Dodde, "Vernieuwing van het Nederlandse onderwijs 1801-1857," [Renewal of Dutch education: 1801-1857] Pedagogisch Tijdschrift 6 no.2 (1981): 75-83.

[97] Idenburg, 101.

and dame schools for girls.[98]

Every school now had to conform to national standards. To alleviate the low teaching qualifications the Society avoided embarrassment for teachers without adequate qualifications, sometimes they arranged to certify teachers into four grades that corresponded to the appropriate instructional level.[99] Records were kept of the qualified teachers and retained by local school boards; the names were published in Bijdragen, [Contributions], a type of teacher registry. The Inspectorate increased numerically and they implemented regulations for permanent promotion and salary structure through the Act.

Most significantly, the 1806 Act eliminated specific denominational instruction during school hours. Hereafter this would be a recurring theme in the development of Dutch educational system. Members of the Agency believed that religious instruction was and in future should remain the responsibility of the respective denominations and that it could be offered on Sundays or after school. The tables thus were turned on the Calvinists whose religious books were banned. So not only from an egalitarian perspective but also from the educational view point, Roman Catholics were no longer considered second class citizens. However, the Dutch system, while non-sectarian, retained the Christian character of schools to a certain degree; the school day began and ended with prayers and stories from, as opposed to readings from, the Bible that was forbidden to be in the classroom physically. To solve the religious instruction deprivation, they established catechism schools for children to attend outside regular school hours. This early separation of church and education was advanced for the time and suggests a mind set that anticipated 19th and 20th century educational reform elsewhere.

The Agency nevertheless encountered more problems. Teachers' salaries and school building improvements evolved slowly. As far back as 1796 the Society, and in 1801 Van der Palm, had suggested that a "School Fund" be established from which to pay teachers; a flat rate tax was to be levied on all families whether they had school-age children or not. Although Van den Ende revived the idea in 1809, the economic circumstances mentioned earlier prohibited implementation of the scheme. Despite the inherent problems, the innovations and achievements of the Dutch elementary schools elicited admiration from many 19th-century reformers. According to Schama:

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[98] Schama, Patriots 538. This averaged to 41 students per school.

[99] These four grades were retained until the 1980s.

> Victor Cousin, who with Guizot was responsible for the first comprehensive French law on elementary education in 1833, conceded: "I have seen no primary schools worthy to be compared, even now, with those of Holland;" and Matthew Arnold, who compared the various approaches then current in states like Prussia, Switzerland and France, took much the same view. The achievement,especially in the circumstances then afflicting the Dutch, was undeniably considerable.[100]

Obviously the 1806 Act, Van den Ende's Act, proved far more significant than the earlier legislation because it provided for teaching qualifications, content for primary education and inspection of schools and ultimately established the idea that education was the monopoly of the state. The definition of public and private schools for the first time was legally enforced; no one anticipated that this would lead to a prolonged educational struggle because the Agency believed that this split was egalitarian. This classification criterion was financial; approximately 70 per cent were subsidized by municipalities, orphanages, almshouses, foundations, unions and diocese while 30 per cent were non-subsidized.[101] The educational developments obviously were quite advanced for the time in comparison with other European countries. The Dutch not only had separation of religion and state but also of religion and education that was unheard of in many countries until the late 19th century. It would be safe to say that this era was the Golden Age of Dutch education.

3. The General Commission for Education

Not surprisingly some problems, despite the many positive changes initiated by the Agency, had emerged with the haphazard system that had developed over the centuries. To this end, in 1829 the Minister of the Interior P.L.S. van Gobbelschroy who was responsible for what today would be called the education portfolio, established the Algemeene Commissie voor het Onderwijs, General Commission for Education, whose task was to create a more unified national system. This Commission differentiated between public, private and domestic science education. It recommended that public funds should pay public education in whole or in part while private schools should not receive financial aid at all, a foreboding of the future. Domestic science education would be free. Public education would be provided at three levels: elementary, secondary and post secondary. The elementary level schooling was meant for students aged six to 12 years. Reading, writing, arithmetic and geography would be the main subjects. They would include science, history, biology, gymnastics and handicrafts also in the curriculum. A leaving exam would result in promotion to the six-year secondary level, which the commission called Middle School. This would commence with a two-year general or common program[102] and be followed by two divisions of the senior secondary level both with four year programs. The curriculum would contain Greek, Latin, Dutch, French, classical and modern history, geography, mathematics and mythology. Post secondary education would require a secondary school leaving exam and an entrance exam and gear students to careers in the professions by way of university level.[103] One can see

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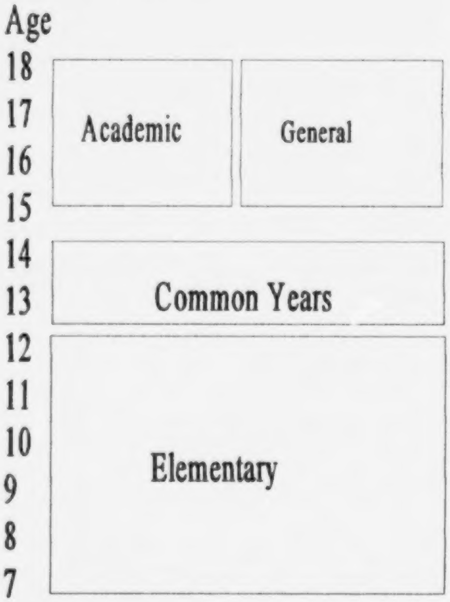
[100] Schama, Patriots 540.

[101] See Boekholt and de Booy and Dodde, Verandert.

CHART 28: GOBBELSCHROY STRUCTURE



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[102] This later would become known as the bridge year.

[103] See J. De Nooy, Eenheid en vrijheid in het nationale onderwijs onder Koning Willem I [Unity and freedom in national education under King Willliam I] (Utrecht: Libertas Drukkerij, 1939).

by Chart 28[104] that this was a very advanced structure for 19th century education. Had the Dutch adopted these structural recommendations their system would have ranked as one of the leading and most egalitarian educational systems in western Europe. However, this Report was not received favourably mostly because the Dutch were not ready for what seemed to them a very radical change to their system. They had only recently adjusted to the earlier Education Acts. Neither could parents identify with the new textbooks that they believed had too strong an orientation to Enlightenment and radical French revolutionary thought; they wanted their own school textbooks used. Parents demanded a return to the old ways. So despite some attempts at liberalizing the educational system the outlook by many, especially parents, was still quite traditional.

Nevertheless, significant changes occurred in Dutch education in the 1830 to 1857 period due to political developments. The modern day country known as the Kingdom of the Netherlands was created under the House of Orange Nassau when William I (1772-1843) returned from his exile in England and became king when the Dutch held his coronation ceremony on 30 March 1814.[105] Under the guidance of Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859) the 1815 Congress of Vienna had deemed it necessary, through the principle of legitimacy, to stem French expansionist policy. Consequently the Congress added present day Belgium to the former Dutch Republic and established the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This in fact largely reverted the state back to the boundaries it had before the Eighty Years' War in the 16th and 17th centuries. Unfortunately the Congress gave little regard to the political, economic or social determinants of the two states involved. The unification of the two countries ultimately created far more problems than it solved. The north, present day Netherlands, was basically Calvinist while the south, present day Belgium, was devoutly Roman Catholic. The language differences also undermined any idea of a unified country.[106] The subsequent defection of Belgium was to be expected because of the very different religious, political, economic and historical traditions. In November 1830 a Provisional Government and National Assembly declared Belgium independent; they terminated the Union officially in 1839.

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[104] This structure is derived from the Commission suggestions.

[105] Ibid.

[106] See Vandeputte.

4)The Education Struggle

The split between the two countries necessarily led to a renewal of educational reform. A school struggle based on difficulties concerning the founding of private schools with a religious curriculum emerged when the Union of Belgium and the Netherlands dissolved. The public versus private theme emerged again around 1815 because by this time the 1806 Act had become the foundation for considerable dissension. Various denominations, Catholics, and Dutch Reformed especially, felt deprived when they faced difficulties educating their youth in their particular faith. The reason for this was not merely ideological. It was strictly financial; the state saw no reason to add to the public school numbers or the educational budget and decided that if these parties wanted their own schools they had to be financed privately without any access whatsoever to public funds. Moreover, if a local government decided there were sufficient public schools then they would not permit establishment of new private schools. In the Protestant northern provinces the schools consisted of state organized public education with a general Christian character. However, in the Catholic southern provinces the people thought that education was a religious endeavour. As time went on many people increasingly became strongly opposed to exposing their children to the general Christianity of the schools and believed these schools lacked a strong religious emphasis. As a result some groups established their own schools. This cannot be equated to the school struggle of the 16th and early 17th century because then schools were not allowed to be founded if they did not adhere to Calvinist ideology, and this time the issue was financial; denominations ultimately resorted to founding their own schools but financed them privately. The Catholics and Dutch Reformed Protestants, in particular, continually denigrated the contemporary education system, demanding separate schools with pronounced Protestant or Catholic tenets. These groups insisted that schools should be denominational.

In 1834 a stronger, more focussed resistance to the general Christian nature of the school system emerged; this led to an education struggle that has not yet culminated.[107] The movement emerged in the predominantly Catholic province of north Brabant and included other areas that pushed for "free education," meaning specific denominational schools. The activities of this movement thereafter strongly influenced the political life of the Netherlands. In this struggle, Professors M. Siegenbeek (1802-1886) and Petrus Hofstede de Groot (1774-1854) were the representatives of the public state schools and Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876) was the leader for private education. Van Prinsterer wanted to revert to the state of education before 1796 and to reform the Church through outside influences. The arguments revolved around three issues: first whether parents had the right to decide their children's education, secondly, whether the general Christian schools of 1806 were really Christian since they were denominationally neutral, and thirdly, whether the Government's educational policies were anti-national.[108]

In 1838 Theodorus Brower, a Roman Catholic priest, stimulated some agitation when he published several articles against public education.[109] He urged that Roman Catholic children only attend reading, writing and arithmetic classes, but that they leave the classroom if history or theological matters were discussed. Brower may have believed he was saving souls with this recommendation, but placing such a burden on the children seems quite unjust. To add fuel to the fire, C.R.A van Bommel, later Bishop of Luik, said that public education was anti-Catholic, that national government should have no say in education, and that parental choice should always have precedence. These publications resulted in making the struggle national rather than simply being centered in the southern provinces.

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[107] This struggle is very well documented and unfortunately is the main focus of much of the Dutch educational scholarship. There are well over 2,000 entries in libraries in the Netherlands that restrict the title to Education Struggle. It is quite easy to get lost in this issue. No attempt to master all of these sources has been made. Rather, a general overview of this important development is deemed sufficient for this study.

[108] J.F.M.C. Aarts, N. Deen, and J.H.G.I. Giesbers, Onderwijs in Nederland [Education in the Netherlands] 4th ed. (Groningen: Wolters, 1985), 142.

[109] See Joos Van Vught, "De verzuiling van het Lager Onderwijs in Limburg:1860-1940," [The segmentation of primary education in Limburg:1860-1940] Archief voor de Geshiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland [Archive for the History of the Catholic Church in the Netherlands] 23 no. 1 (1981): 17-60.

The Catholics and Dutch Reformed were not the only groups affected by the school struggle. The Dutch Jews, most of whom lived in Amsterdam, by 1815 had neither integrated nor assimilated. In 1817 a National Commission recommended that Jewish education should be placed under national jurisdiction. Each synagogue would be required to attach a poor school in which Dutch reading and writing, rather than Yiddish, would be the language of communication. The Commission would compel Jewish children to attend these schools. Ultimately this meant that Jewish children would be attending non-Jewish schools. Although there was some anti-Semitism prevalent in Dutch society, the Jewish community firmly argued that they considered Jewish education far more important than Dutch language education. The government decided to drop the entire issue and let the Jewish community administer its own schools. In fact, the government and the King subsidized Jewish schools but they did not make this public.

As noted earlier, because of the dissolution of the union of Belgium and the Netherlands the Dutch required a new education law. King William II established a commission that concluded that the Roman Catholics should have their own schools and these could be founded without permission of the local government. A Royal Decree, Koninglijk Besluit No. 61 Stb. No. 1, dated 2 January 1842 was issued which contained three educational policies. One, if a municipality failed to establish denominational schools the provincial school supervisor would enforce such a school. Two, all textbooks had to be approved by Roman Catholic officials. Three, one hour of religion was to be taught per day. The Royal Decree proved popular because the Catholics now had their own schools. It also served to make the Protestant teachers more aware of Roman Catholic rights. At this time also, the Ministry of Education was incorporated as a division of the Ministry of the Interior. This did not change until the Ministry of Education and Sciences was established in 1918.

5)Nineteenth Century Schools

During the 19th century the Dutch scarcely understood the notion of secondary schooling and certainly they never entertained the idea of a middle level of education. The Dutch firmly believed in two educational levels: elementary and post secondary.[110] However in 1830 they had made some accommodation concerning the secondary level and they deemed it as education strictly for those wished to prepare for the vertical step to post secondary level. But they did not implement this anywhere in the system until 1857 so it was on the books but not practiced. Dutch higher education was considered the education offered through the Latin schools, athenea and higher schools that, being the last level, in practise meant post secondary level.

The history of the Latin schools during the course of the 19th century is of interest because it was the basis for more differentiation and the schools that developed at this time are still operating in some form or another today. Latin schools were meant to be the top of the educational ladder and completion of this program served as an entrance to the higher schools or post secondary education. In 1815 a Royal Decree had expanded the curriculum of the Latin schools. Besides Latin and Greek, mathematics, physics, new history, mythology, and geography were taught. This program was not very successful. The Royal Decree was repeated in 1826 but scarcely improved upon.

However, the Dutch revitalized the Latin schools with the passage of the 1837 Secondary Education Act that created the Second Department, that in effect was a secondary school for those not interested in pursuing university studies. The former Latin schools, now renamed gymnasium, retained their status as schools for the elite of Dutch society. But the Second Department had a different curriculum than the Latin school; it provided modern foreign languages, mathematics and sciences. In 1838 the Hague and Leiden established their new gymnasiums. By 1839 the towns of Almelo and Enschede had this type of gymnasium school where the curriculum included the Dutch language, mathematics, geography, history, physics, chemistry, bookkeeping, and drafting. A minute percentage of the age group attended these schools. Nevertheless, the creation of the Second Department revived the former Latin schools which were in danger of elimination due to low enrolment.

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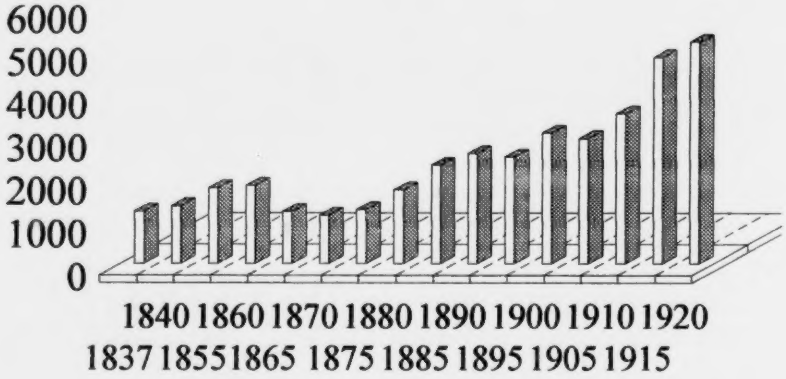
[110] See G. Bolkestein, De voorgeschiedenis van het middelbaar onderwijs: 1796-1863 [The early history of middle education: 1796-1863] (Amersfoort: Van Amerongen, 1914), 51.

Despite the improved curriculum the gymnasium attendance was still quite negligible; one such school in 1837 only had two students enrolled although altogether in 1837 the 68 gymnasium schools had a total enrolment of 1214 pupils.[111] After the 1837 Secondary Education Act, enrolment patterns changed as seen in Chart 29.[112] In 1840 some 1341 students were taught in 70 gymnasium schools; a two school decrease to 68 nevertheless saw an increase in student attendance to 1759 students while in 1855, another decrease to 64 Latin schools was accompanied by an enrolment increase to 1,816 students.[113] Then in 1860 another decrease in numbers of schools to 62 gymnasiums meant more work for

CHART 29: GYMNASIUM ENROLMENT 1837-1920



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[111] H.W. Fortgens, Schola Latina: Uit de geschiedenis van ons hoger onderwijs [Latin Schools: out of the history of our higher education] (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1958): 224.

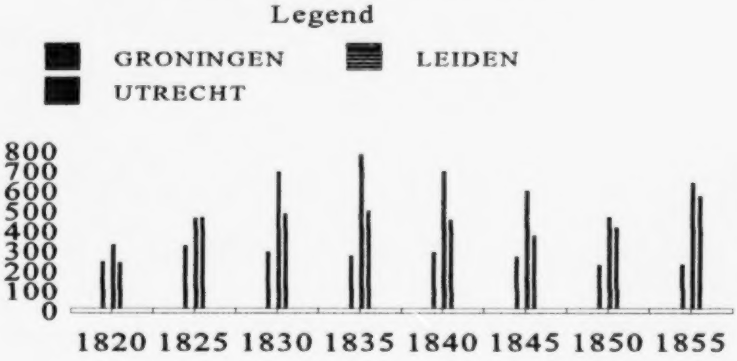
[112] Source: Ibid.

[113] CBS, (1966): 143 Table 2. A chart of the locations of the Latin schools can also be found in Reinsma, 101. Reinsma divided his chart into the provinces and indicated that Friesland had 15 Latin Schools, Groningen had three, Drenthe had two, Overijssel had seven, Gelderland had 13, Utrecht had two, North-Holland had five, South Holland had nine, Zeeland had three, North Brabant had 12 and Limburg had one.

the schools that had in total 1,817 students enrolled.[114] As the number of schools decreased the enrolment increased until in 1920 only 51 gymnasiums schools taught 5,178 students.[115] Quite clearly, the number of schools did not expand sufficiently to meet the enrolment figures.

The three post secondary institutions: Leiden, Utrecht and Groningen also experienced enrolment fluctuations. The very elite student population, a maximum of 800 to 1855, fluctuated considerably as seen in Chart 30.[116]The enrolment invariably was dependent on a variety of societal determinants. Leiden, which has a special place in the heart of the Dutch,[117] was the school of choice with Utrecht placing second and Groningen third. The lower enrolment at Groningen was quite likely due to its fair distance from the center of

CHART 30: POST SECONDARY ENROLMENT 1820-1855



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[114]Dodde, Verandert 50.

[115]CBS, (1966): 144 Table 9.

[116]Ibid, 265 Table 3.

[117]Leiden was besieged by the Spaniards in 1574 during the independence struggle. The dwindling food supply and the plague combined resulted in the deaths of one third of the city's population. To relieve the situation the States General ordered the dykes opened so that the Spaniards hopefully would retreat. However the waters did not rise for three months making the situation graver by the day. The waterguezen, water-borne troops, reached Leiden in October, after the Spaniards finally had left. For their fortitude, loyalty and perseverance, William of Orange reward the Leiden citizens with a theological higher school which in time became the University of Leiden.

the country. Of course, these were elitist establishments and very few people were in the upper echelons of the highly structured class system. Three universities for such a small percentage of the total population seems quite extravagant but was typically Dutch. After 1876 the university enrolment increased significantly as illustrated in Appendix F -University Enrolment 1860-1920 - because more people wanted post secondary level education to accommodate the increased industrialization. Too, attending a university was considered very prestigious.

That the Dutch world view changed once again was made obvious with the adoption of a new constitution in 1848 that was more liberal and decimated the king's political power. King William II (1792-1849),[118] a staunchly conservative man became the first Dutch constitutional monarch.[119] Obviously the turbulent political events so common throughout Europe in 1848 had also affected the Netherlands. After 1848 the Netherlands that now constituted 12 provinces and 700 municipalities, was governed by a parliament elected in part by some members of Dutch society. Parliament remained bicameral; divided into the First and Second Chambers as it had been since 1815. Elections of the four year terms of the 75 members of the First Chamber were made by provincial councils while elections to the Second Chamber for a four-year term were held by proportional representation through a franchise. This system is in place today. The Dutch made parliament responsible for governing the Netherlands. Politically the period from 1848 to 1888 can be viewed as an alternating liberal-conservative period in Dutch history. The elite were the only members of society who could vote in 1850 because the franchise was dependent on taxation rates. Moreover one had to be male and more than 25 years of age. In 1859 only 6.4 per cent of the population could vote.[120] The

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[118] William had studied in England, been wounded during the Battle of Waterloo, and was married to Anna Paulovna, sister of Tsar Alexander I of Russia.

[119] For a history of the Dutch Royal Family see Reina van Ditzhuyzen, Het Huis van Oranje [The House of Orange] (Haarlem: De Haan, 1985), or Han van Bree, Het Aanzien van het Huis van Oranje [A view of the House of Orange] (Utrecht/Antwerpen: Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1984).

[120] E.H. Kossmann, De lage landen: 1780-1940 [The Low Countries: 1780-1940] (Amsterdam/Brussels: Elsevier, 1976), 260.

Dutch changed this in 1887 when 13.9 per cent were eligible to vote and by 1896 they extended the franchise to 23.5 per cent. Only in 1917 was a general franchise extended to the male population.[121] In 1922 the Netherlands adopted a universal (female) franchise but many other countries had adopted a female franchise before the Dutch. This electoral development in the Netherlands led to the rise of a number of political parties that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Also, 1848 proved a pivotal year in educational development in the Netherlands; the Liberals were responsible for enshrining freedom of education in the 1848 Constitution, the year they gained power. They accomplished this largely under the leadership of liberal leader Johan Rudolf Thorbecke (1798-1872) who pushed the provinces in 1849 to act in accordance with the new Constitution. This meant that the Dutch finally accepted universal access to education. The Roman Catholic and Protestant Christian schools could legally exist alongside the public schools although without public funding. Nevertheless, there were still many problems to be solved for the changes were not nationally legislated and the 1806 Act was still in force.

6)The Elementary Education Act 1857

The authorities did not answer the demands of the denominational parties until the passage of the 1857 Wet tot regeling van het lagere onderwijs Stb.103 Elementary Education Act. The new constitution was the catalyst behind the creation of this Act. The 1857 Elementary Act was the brainchild of J.J.L. van der Brugghen (1804-1863), a lawyer from Nijmegen, who had established the Klokkenberg School there under private initiative, but more so as an example to others. He argued that the religious differences could be easily solved; those who wished to have private schools should establish them at their own, not government, expense. This argument or viewpoint became the gist of the 1857 Act. The liberals agreed with this philosophy but for political rather than religious reasons. They thought it wise for a national education law to place primary responsibility for establishing and maintaining schools on the municipalities and the citizens.

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[121] Ibid, 268.

The Act also extended elementary education, as indicated in Chapter II. The Act included classification into specific grades or school years. New schools at the higher level of the elementary program were in actual practise functioning as junior secondary schools. They categorized these as Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs [More extended elementary education], rapidly abbreviated to MULO, which essentially replaced the French schools for the 12 to 15-age group. The 1857 Act geared the curriculum at the MULO schools to general education rather than an academic stream. It included reading, writing, mathematics, Dutch language, history, geography, science and singing. Modern languages, agriculture, gymnastics, art (drawing), and handicrafts for girls were also included as subjects. With the passage of this Act, Jewish students were compelled to enroll in these schools.

The Act also concerned itself with the subsistence level of teachers' salaries that were increased, and 65 year old teachers would henceforth receive state pensions. They also legislated the student teacher ratio. More than 70 students per class would result in a teacher training student to supplement the teacher, 100 students would require the help of a teacher's aide and 150 or more students meant that a teacher's aide and a student in teacher training would help in the classroom.[122] The Act also increased financial allocations to the state schools, but provided none for the denominational schools. As a result, the effort to provide equality for private education became the focus of the future political campaigns.

As with most other European countries, increased industrialization significantly improved the economic picture at the end of the century. Small industry grew and big concerns developed between 1850 and 1880. But although the structural unemployment had abated somewhat, price increases far outweighed any increases in salaries. The agrarian sector significantly decreased from 44 per cent in 1849 to 28 per cent in 1909, and work in specific vocations increased from 25 per cent to 32 per cent, while the service sector increased from 20 per cent to 32 per cent.[123] Despite this employment increase massive pauperization would continue to be a problem well into the 20th century, especially in the province of Drente because the Netherlands industrialized so late. In the late 1870s new economic developments contributed to an improved economic situation. For example coal was found in Limburg, oil in Coevorden and salt in Overijssel. This was consequential for education for new areas of non-academic studies were sought so that they would qualify the workers for positions in these areas. As with many other European countries, after 1895 industrialization increased significantly placing a greater emphasis on vocational training. Throughout this period the conflict between the religious groups concerning the unequal treatment of denominational and state schools and anxiety over government interference in education escalated.

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[122] Boekholt and De Booy, 151.

[123] Th.van Tijn, "Sociale leven," [Social life] Algemeene Geschiedenis 13 (1978): 78 and 306.

7)The Secondary Education Act 1863

A very important milestone occurred in the history of Dutch secondary education with the passage on 2 May 1863 Wet op het Middelbaar Onderwijs, Secondary Education Act. This Act was the responsibility of Thorbecke, who had been so influential with the 1848 Constitutional change. As mentioned repeatedly, so far secondary education - the 1857 Act was an Elementary Act in Dutch eyes - had not been part of the system; gymnasium schools were considered higher education for those over age 16 and they meant the elementary school largely for those under age 16. But with his patronizing condescension Thorbecke,[124] who despite being a liberal ironically was a practising functionalist, intensified the categorization of Dutch schooling because he wanted to retain the gymnasium schools for the elite. So for egalitarian purposes Thorbecke thought he should create a secondary school for that segment of the population that was not interested in academic pursuits. The hogere burgerschool, HBS or higher burgherschools, would be a non academic stream that would present general education and serve as a preparatory school for civil servants, banking and service industries and those in the supervisory categories of commerce.[125] True to the functionalist compartmentalization that

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[124] For an excellent biography of Thorbecke see K.H. Boersema, J.R. Thorbecke: een historisch-critische studie [J.R. Thorbecke: a historical-critical study] (Leiden: Brill, 1949).

[125] Thorbecke was assisted by D. J. H. Steyn Parve who was a big proponent of the HBS school and wrote extensively about Dutch education.

Thorbecke favoured, he divided the HBS into two sectors; a three-year program for the middle class and a five-year program for the upper middle class. The three-year program curriculum included mathematics, biology, physics, history, geography, modern languages, and drawing/art.[126] The five-year program had basically the same program as the three-year HBS but obviously was lengthier and differentiated from the three-year program with courses in cosmography, mechanics, civics, and commercial sciences. Thorbecke thus made the secondary level legal but simultaneously exacerbated the streaming of students.

The HBS schools actually had evolved out of the Second Department of the former Latin schools that both boys and girls could attend. Girls, however, required the Minister's permission to attend HBS schools until 1906.[127]One could say that this was merely a name change but it also led to an expansion of these types of schools. The Dutch established the first state HBS schools in Groningen and Roermond, in 1864 while the first municipal HBS schools were founded in Leiden, Delft, Zutphen, Haarlem, Deventer, Maastricht and Sneek. All these had five-year programs. The first three-year HBS school was opened in Gouda in 1865. In 1900 there were 64 HBS schools: 23 were of three year duration with a total of 2,671 pupils and the five-year program had 5,897 students.[128] Amsterdam in 1910 had seven HBS schools, the Hague and Rotterdam each had four. In total by 1920, the Dutch had established 126 HBS schools of which 24 were three year schools.[129] Also in 1910, the financial expenditure for the HBS schools was more than fl2,000,000.[130]As of 1917 the

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[126]The drawing/art aspect of the curriculum today would be considered draughting.

[127]As of 1917 the HBS five year course led to university but the three year course was not well attended. In fact, enrolment decreased in this program. Nevertheless, this school was quite instrumental in the discussions concerning passage of the 1963 Secondary Act.

[128]Dodde, Mammoet, 82.

[129]Boekholt and De Booy, 186.

[130]H. Snijders, "Het middelbaar onderwijs voor algemene ontwikkeling in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden," [Middle education for general development in the kingdom of the Netherlands] Het onderwijs in Nederland [Education in the Netherlands]

HBS five-year course led to university but the three-year schools were not well attended as seen in Chart 11 in Chapter II. In fact, enrolment decreased in this program. Nevertheless, these schools were quite instrumental in the discussion concerning passage of the 1963 Secondary Act.

8) The MMS Schools

Thorbecke also was responsible for the creation of a secondary school for girls from the higher and middle echelons of the social hierarchy. To the mid 19th century Dutch society and the educational community thought that the best place to teach girls was in French schools or in the home; after all a girl's destiny, everyone believed, was to marry and become a good Dutch housewife, or the alternative, a "New Girl."[131] In 1867 Thorbecke allowed the establishment of five-year secondary schools for girls known as Middelbare school voor meisjes, MMS. They established the first MMS in Haarlem and it was state subsidized in 1870. By 1871 MMS schools had been founded in Dordrecht, Arnhem and 's-Hertogenbosch. However, these were not state subsidized because Thorbecke wanted to be assured of their permanence. In 1905 there were 14 MMS schools in the Netherlands, this increased to 16 in 1920 and to 19 in 1925, six of these were private schools.

9) The Higher Education Act 1876

In 1875 the athenea or illustre schools disappeared when with the passage of the 1876 Stb.102 Wet tot regeling van het Hoger Onderwijs, Higher Education Act they finally legalized the six-year gymnasium. In 1880 the 28 gymnasium schools taught a total of 1,718 students.[132] However, by 1935 this figure climbed to 60 schools. Yet another type of school made its appearance in 1906; the lyceum. This school offered a combination of HBS and the gymnasium programs. These were the forerunners of the Dutch comprehensive schools. Enrolment was quite significant in these schools as seen in Chapter II.

(Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1910), 42-43 and 188-189.

[131] See Mieneke van Essen, "New Girls and Traditional Womanhood. Girlhood and Education in the Netherlands in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," Paedagogica Historica 29 no. 1 (1993): 125-149.

[132] Dodde, Mammoet 82.

10)The Elementary Education Act 1878

After Thorbecke's death in 1872 the liberals became somewhat radical, certainly much less conservative than they had been under Thorbecke's leadership. Johannes Kappeyne van de Coppello (1822-1895) won the election for the liberals in 1877 and the 1878 Stb.127 Wet tot regeling van het lager onderwijs Elementary Education Act also known as the Kappeyne School Act was passed.[133] This was deemed as a Pyrrhic victory for the liberals which not only gave public education preference over private education but increased government control. Kappeyne rationalized that increased state intervention was necessary to increase social mobility, to create a well-trained work force in the industrializing Netherlands, and to keep labourers distant from socialist ideas. Subjects for girls such as handicrafts were made compulsory and female teachers were allowed to give lessons at the lower elementary level. The 1878 Act also lowered the teacher student ratios from a maximum one teacher to 70 students to a maximum of one teacher to 30 students; any students above the latter number led to the appointment of a teacher aide; improved teacher training, increased teachers' salaries and legislated a one third financial share of the schools' expenses to the municipalities.

11) The School Act 1889

However, there was considerable opposition to the 1878 Elementary Act. Some 160,000 Catholics and 200,000 Protestants signed a petition to protest the Law.[134] The leader of this movement was Herman J.A.M. Schaepman (1844-1903) who eventually brought the Catholics to victory in a coalition government. Then the 1887 election brought the Protestants to power and this resulted in the passage of the Lager Onderwijs Wet, 1889 Elementary Education Act under the leadership of Aeneas baron Mackay (1839-1909). He included a partial government subsidy of private educational establishments. This superseded the

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[133] A less important but socially significant milestone was the passage in 1874 of the Law on Child Labor which dealt with children under age 12. This resulted in somewhat higher school attendance although parents still kept children home to help on the farm during harvest time.

[134] J.P. de Valk, "De katholieken en het onderwijs," [The Catholics and Education] Spiegel Historiael (Netherlands) 13 no.12 (1978): 742.

1878 Act and was the initial legislative step of the financial equalization of Dutch elementary and secondary education at both private and public schools.

12)Religious Determinants

There is some discrepancy among Dutch academics concerning the number of major groups, blocs or segments (the Dutch call them pillars and many Dutch academics writing about this incorrectly use this noun as a verb when they refer to it as the pillarization of Dutch society) compose the society. This author believes there is a quadripartite segmentation of Dutch society: public, private, Roman Catholic and Protestants, their schools exist side by side as has been demonstrated throughout this study. The denominational groups are the Roman Catholics and the Protestants who in turn have segmented into further categories that are quite distinct. The non denominational groups are politically oriented and generally are the Socialists and the Liberals, although there are many smaller politically oriented groups but without the numerical strength of the former two parties. An examination of their historical development is warranted to eliminate confusion.

The Roman Catholics obviously belong to the Roman Catholic Church and generally abide by its dogma and ideology although they may have differences with the pope. However, the Calvinist bloc consists of three sectors: the Reformed Church that adheres to the orthodox Calvinist dogma,[135] the Dutch Reformed Church and the somewhat secular bloc that have non practising or dissenting members. The Reformed Church groups find strength in their diversity from the general populace and are quite accepting of their minority status; they constitute approximately 10 per cent of the population. Generally, the Catholics live in the south, the Calvinists in the center and southwest while the secular groups are generally located in the west and the north eastern areas of the Netherlands.

13)Political Developments

Aside from religion, other societal determinants, politics for example, also played a role in the development of Dutch education. The effect of politics on the education system was most profound in the later 19th century. Since

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[135] The Reformed Church (Gereformeerd) members separated from the Dutch Reformed Church because they believed that the latter had become far too liberal.

Dutch education was legislated on a secular basis, the denominational groups launched the educational financial equalization movement that did not end until 1917. Because of the educational struggle, the denominational parties had become politicized in the last quarter of the 19th century. The first political parties appeared and their numbers quickly increased but in true Dutch fashion they nearly all split due to internal dissension as seen in Appendix G -Political Parties I. The first Dutch political party emerged as a result of agitation against the Kappeyne Law. In 1861 the Vereeniging van Christelijk Nationaal Schoolonderwijs, Society for Christian National School Education, was founded and it evolved into the Anti Schoolwet Verbond, Anti School Law League and by 1872 had become a denominational political party, the conservative Anti-Revolutionaire Partij, ARP, Protestant-Christian Anti-Revolutionary Party, led by Dr. Abraham Kuyper after Groen van Prinsterer died in 1876.[136] This party was established in 1879 with Kuyper seeking support by associating Calvinism with social reform subsequently involving those who previously had little interest in politics or reform. His success with the working class and the lower middle class in this regard engendered considerable support for state supported denominational schools. But internal dissension, so ubiquitous in the Netherlands, caused the formation of a splinter group that created the Christelijke Historische Unie Partij, CHU, in 1896. This factor would play a very important role in education in the 20th century as will be indicated in later chapters.

In 1882 the communist Socialistische Demokratieken Bond, SDB, Social-Democratic Bond was founded. The SDB slowly disintegrated over the next decade because true to form, a cleavage within the party evolved. By 1894 the party was divided in two when the Socialistische Demokratieke Arbeiders Partij, SDAP, Social Democratic Workers Party appeared headed by Pieter J. Toelstra and was strongly supported by the newspaper he edited, Het Volk [The People]. By 1902 the SDAP was recognized as the legal Dutch representative group of the Second International.[137] (The Nazi Occupational Government in 1940 disbanded it).[138] The seemingly contradictory SDAP policy of supporting the establishment of a financial state subsidy for denominational schools has to be understood in the context of contemporary Dutch political ideology. The Dutch group did not conform to the official stance of the Second International that advocated no state support to achieve denominational financial parity but supported the compulsory state schools for all children. The SDAP became quite involved in the educational issues surrounding financial parity and should be considered a very important component of the lengthy struggle.[139]

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[136] The organizational driving force behind the ARP was Abraham Kuyper who believed strongly that organizationals skills were paramanount and that extending the franchise was imperative. He engendered considerable ill will within Dutch society when he portrayed the non denominational groups as strongly opposed to the denominational groups. Ultimately Kuyper increased the functionalist aspect of Dutch society.

In 1891 the Liberale Unie, Liberal Union appeared, but like the other groups internal problems quickly appeared and it also fragmented. The splinter group surfaced in 1901 as the Vrijzinnig-Democratische Bond, VDB, Liberal Democratic Bond. Finally, the Rooms-Katholiek Staatspartij, RKS, Roman Catholic State Party was established in 1897. After 1888 the Dutch governments consisted largely of coalitions of Protestant Christian parties and Roman Catholic parties interspersed with Liberal governments.

The political changes in the electoral process resulted in changes in the Dutch view of social classes all of which affected the educational system. These developments played an important role because from the 1890s on one's political orientation governed the education one received. Dutch society was differentiated into higher, middle and lower classes economically but also "pillarized" as these classes were completely transcended by the quadripartite segments of Dutch society mentioned earlier which in turn generates the functionalism that is so inherent in the Netherlands. This process had begun centuries before as has been noted throughout this chapter, but became very divisive for Dutch society during the later 19th century due to the education struggle and has been quite pervasive ever since although it declined somewhat after the 1970s.[140] These pillars paradoxically illustrate intolerance of others rather than the tolerance the Dutch supposedly idealize. A good example is that of the Dutch Catholic bishop unbelievably threatening the faithful in 1954 with withdrawal of holy sacraments if they consorted with socialists, followed socialist communications such as radio and newspapers and joined socialist labour unions. According to Erik Hansen:

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[137] See Barry J. Hake, Anne Kal and Marce Noordenbos, "Adult education and working class women in the Netherlands: the educational work of the social Democratic Womenś Clubs 1905-1925," International Journal of Lifelong Education 4 no.3 (July-Sep.1985): 99-218.

[138] Some detail concerning the foundations of this group was deemed essential because it was the antecedent for the Party van de Arbeid, PvdA, Labour Party which emerged after World War II and was most responsible for educational reform in the 1970s and 1980s.

[139] See Erik Hansen, "Marxism, Socialism, and the Dutch Primary Schools," History of Education Quarterly 13 no.4 (Winter 1973): 367-391.

> ...two confessional *zuilen,* Protestant and the Roman Catholic, had their origins in the Reformation experience. The labour *zuil* was the result of modernization and industrialization in the late nineteenth century. The final *zuil*, the liberal, was an expression within the Dutch context of nineteenth-century bourgeois norms and values. Today, each of the *zuilen* is represented in the political realm by its own party, each maintains a system of newspapers and journals, and each encompasses a broad array of clubs, and social associations, ranging over virtually every aspect of human activity, from social services through entertainment and athletic teams. The three *zuilen* that contain large numbers of blue-collar worker also maintain their own unions. Thus Catholic unions for Catholic labor, a major Protestant union for Protestant labor and the nation's largest union, the NVV, for the social democratic, or perhaps aptly termed labour, *zuil.*[141]

The concomitant religious and political affiliations are best illustrated in a succinct summary of the particular groups and their supporting organizations. Each group has its own communications media, its own religion, its own ideology and its own methods of lifestyle. Table 3- Denominational Parties and Table 4- Secular Parties indicate some of these points.

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[140] See Goudsblom, or Arend Lijphart, The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

[141] Hansen, 371-372.

TABLE 3: DENOMINATIONAL PARTIES

	DENOMINATIONAL PARTIES	
	Roman Catholics	**Protestant**
Political parties	RKS	Anti-Revolutionary Christian Historical Union
Newspapers	De Volkskrant De Tijd	Trouw
Unions	NKV	CNV

TABLE 4: SECULAR PARTIES

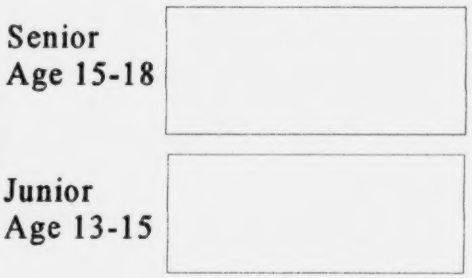
	SECULAR PARTIES	
	Liberals	**Socialists**
Political parties	Liberale Unie VDB	SDAP
Newspapers	Algemeen Handelsblad Algemeen Dagblad Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant Het Vaderland	Vrije Volk Het Parool
Unions	NVC	NVV

The quadripartite segmentation of Dutch society had been in the making since the Eighty Years' War as indicated throughout this chapter but was quite clearly and firmly established by the education struggle that permeated the 19th century. These developments directly influenced the choice of schools for students and circuitously affected education because of the denominational, political and socioeconomic categorizations. This compartmentalization significantly contributed to and greatly intensified the strong functionalist organization of Dutch education.

Reverting to the narrative, in 1888, many complaints were heard throughout Dutch society about the antiquated, haphazardly structured system. For example, upon the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the 1863 Secondary Education Act, J.W.A. Renssen, director of the state HBS, indicated that despite some positive results, the Act concomitantly had brought some negative elements to the educational system. He pointed out that one difficulty was the unclear relationship between the various types of schools. It is important to realize that in the Netherlands each branch and each level of education were self regulated which certainly hindered the creation of a uniform system. Rennsen was concerned not so much with the inequality of opportunities that was the norm for most Dutch students as he was with the impracticality of the entire illogical, inefficient system. For example, Renssen echoed the complaint that the elementary lower school did not train students sufficiently in preparation for the intense levels taught at HBS. He indicated that the MULO program was inadequate. Renssen maintained that the wide variety of schools within the system created additional problems. Moreover, he postulated that the tradition of classical studies functioning as the major prerequisite for university had become questionable. Additionally, he theorized that the MMS students received an education increasingly equivalent to that of the HBS schools.

The following year, in 1898, D. Bos published Onze opvoeding [Our Education], in which he advocated the seemingly revolutionary idea of one united and cohesive system where, as indicated in Chart 31[142] a three-year junior secondary school and a three-year senior secondary school would precede university level. The secondary structure as Bos envisaged it was quite similar to the approach taken by Gobbelschroy's Commission in 1824. His advice fell on deaf ears. Had his ideas been accepted the Dutch would

CHART 31: BOS STRUCTURE



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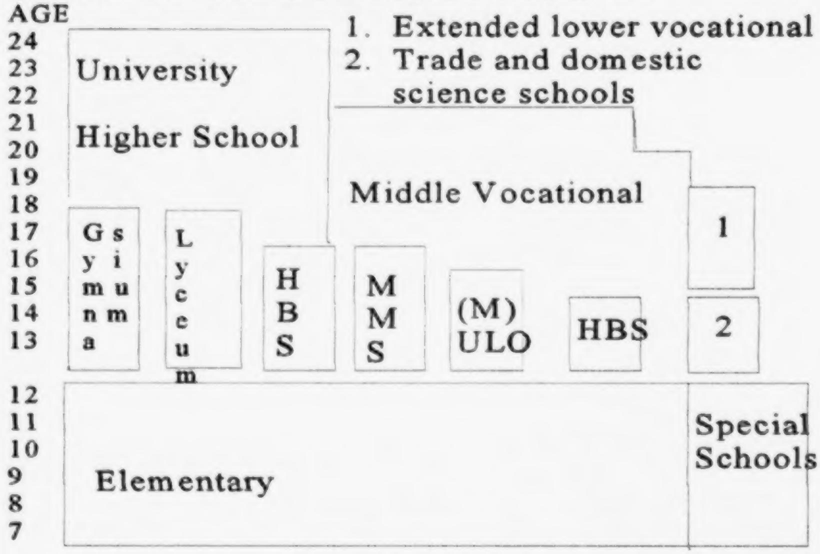
[142] Boekholt and De Booy, 282.

not have had the difficulty they experienced in the next century.[143] It is likely that the "pillarization" might have been less intense with a less class structured education system.

In 1900 the Compulsory Education Act made school obligatory for students aged seven to 12, although they were permitted a six-week farm leave at harvest time. Some political and religious groups saw compulsory education as a weapon in the hands of the advocates of the public school. However, non-attendance figures dropped from 24 per cent to zero per cent.[144] Also, at the turn of the century serious consideration of a student's future livelihood or occupation became paramount in the new industrial age. The government recognized this factor and raised the occupational choice age from 12 to 15. On the whole, the agrarian society was more interested in vocational education that would accommodate farmers and tradesmen. The gymnasium for example proportionately had a very small student population. Even the HBS with the five-year program for 12 to 17 year olds and the three years for 12 to 15 year olds had its own particular socioeconomic levels and

CHART 32: SCHOOL STRUCTURE 1900


AGE
24
23
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
University
Higher School
Gymnasium
Lyceum
HBS
MMS
(M) ULO
HBS
Middle Vocational
1. Extended lower vocational
2. Trade and domestic science schools
1
2
Elementary
Special Schools

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[143] Bos was a teacher at HBS and school supervisor at Winschoten and later a member of the Vrijzinnig-Democratische Bond, the Liberal Democratic Bond. In 1913 Bos chaired the commission that formulated financial equality for public and private schools.

[144] Aarts, Deen, and Giesbers, 42.

class restrictions. The total student population in these schools stood at four per cent of the total student population.[145] The gymnasium and HBS thus intensified class differences. Many people thought that since these were not religious schools they were not required but the majority of the people in the Netherlands believed that the MULO schools were the most acceptable to everyone. By 1900 the Dutch education system had evolved into the structure as illustrated in Chart 32.[146]

C. THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY- ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

In regards to education by the turn of the century there was considerable dissatisfaction from all levels of society concerning the education system. The major problem that had slowly evolved over the course of the 19th century was the complete lack of correlation or unity to the system for it had been allowed to develop without any plan or national guidance. This resulted in the "lovely chaos" as described by E.M. Buter in "Winds of Change in Education."[147] To address these problems Minister Abraham Kuyper announced the intention of renewal: replacing the incongruous system with one that would be unified and cohesive.

1) The Unification Commission 1910

The government agreed with Kuyper and decided to study the problems in depth by creating the Staats commissie voor de reorganisatie van het onderwijs State Commission for the Reorganization of Education, with J. Woltjer as chair.[148] For our purposes this will be termed the Unification Commission. The Commission's focus was on reorganization of the entire educational system. The Commission originally had five main objectives: one, to create a law concerning secondary education, two, to extend preparatory academic education, three, to create a law governing vocational education, four, a law for elementary education, and five, a law concerning post secondary education.[149] For these reasons they divided the Commission into subcommittees for each level of education. School teachers also were unhappy with the system and they wrote a Report entitled Hervormingsplan der Middelbare School, Reform Plan for the Middle School. This Report was overshadowed completely by the Commission and is scarcely mentioned in the sources consulted for this study.

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[145] Dodde, Verandert 49.

[146] Please refer to Chart 1 for a more thorough structural review of the elementary level.

[147] Buter, 115.

[148] This is known in Dutch as the Ineenschakelingscommissie which translated literally means the "in one gearing commission," but for purposes of this study will be termed the Unification Commission.

In 1910 the Unification Commission delivered a 1834 page document. The basic recommendation was that the system should be divided into elementary, secondary and post secondary categories as had been advocated by Bos in 1898 and by Gobbelschroy'Commission in 1829. According to the Unification Commission the lower (meaning elementary and some years of junior secondary) level should consist of lower general studies and lower technical or trade education. Then the system should be completed with secondary general education and secondary technical or trade education. These in turn would be followed by higher preparatory education and post secondary education. The lowest level would be LO, lager onderwijs, elementary education for ages six to 12. The curriculum at LO would provide reading, writing, math, language, geography, history, natural sciences, singing, drawing and gymnastics. This would be followed by two year's VLO, voortgezet lager onderwijs, junior secondary lower general education that was to offer reading, math, language and practically oriented vocational vocations, or three years of ULO, uitgebreid lager onderwijs extended lower (junior secondary) education, for ages 12 to 15. The Commission recommended that the ULO would have students from the middle group of the socioeconomic level and would offer mathematics and two or three foreign modern languages. As seen in Chart 33,[150] the Unification Commission recommended that secondary general education (MAVO) would constitute the next level and have two common years. This was to be offered at three-year schools for girls and boys and five-year for girls only. The curriculum would consist of Dutch language, three modern foreign languages, history, political science, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, plant and animal science, drawing and gymnastics. The program for the three-year secondary schools for boys would also include bookkeeping and writing. The three and five-year schools for girls included needlework and singing in the curriculum. An accompanying secondary level would consist of the voortgezet hoger onderwijs, VHO, preparatory secondary education, which was to be limited to a six-year lyceum, not gymnasium, and prepared students for academic studies at the post secondary level. During the first two common years at the lyceum everyone would study the same curriculum. Education in Dutch language, Latin, French, German, history, geography, mathematics, plant and animal sciences, art and gymnastics were offered. The following four years would be split into three categories with A, B, and C groups. The A group, in addition to the previously mentioned courses would also take Greek, English, civics, science, also cosmography and chemistry. The B group would receive the same instruction except for Greek. The C group would receive draughting and mechanics but no Greek or Latin.

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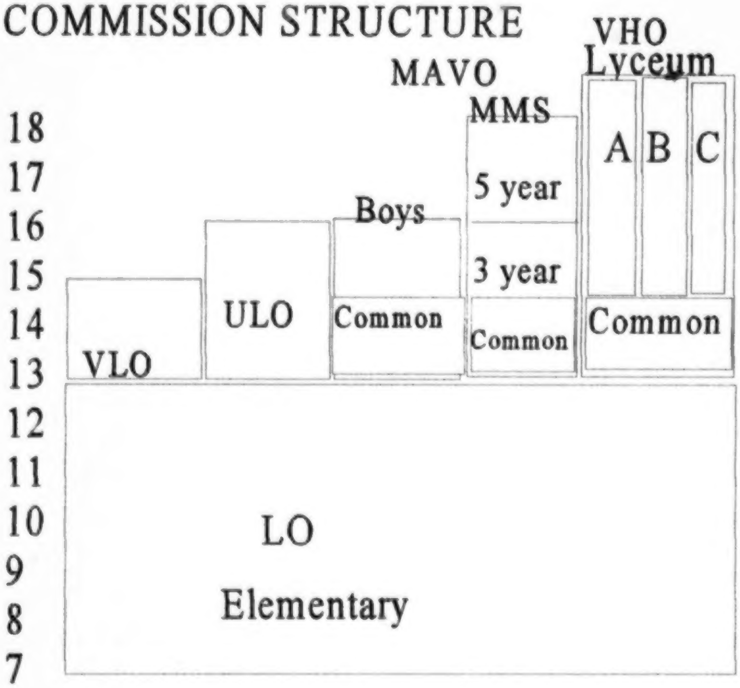
[149] See J.A.A. Verlinden, De Mammoet wet [The Mammoth Act] (Deventer: Kluwer, 1968), 5.

[150] This information in this chart is derived from the Commission Report.

CHART 33: UNIFICATION COMMISSION STRUCTURE



Hoger onderwijs, HO, or post-secondary education would be the responsibility of the universities, higher schools and academies. The universities had evolved from the faculties of theology, medicine, philosophy, mathematics and science.[151] The technical higher school, the veterinary school, the agricultural school and the commercial higher school would form the vocational category of HO. Somewhat later they established an academy for sculpture and drama. The highest category of trade education was meant to provide training for various types of professions and trades. These were care giving for disabled, teacher training, commerce, agriculture, business and industry, navigation and fisheries and land and mineral resources.

Although wise and somewhat progressive the Unification Commission Report was not well received. The government undertook the first attempt to deal with the Unification Commission's recommendations on 23 June 1913. The Commission suggested four different bills: one for elementary, one for secondary, one for preparatory and one for higher education. These bills were meant to govern and administer the entire educational system excluding vocational or trade education. A proposal that LAVO should have structural changes - the two-year preparatory secondary education program, VLO, was to be replaced by a one year extended lower education, ULO, and in place of the three-year extended preparatory secondary educational a three-year more extended preparatory secondary education MULO, was suggested. This meant that the practical orientation of the VLO would disappear. However none of these bills were enacted because a change in government occurred with the General Election. The bills ended up as archival material for future historians. Basically the Commission was a seven-year waste of time but very indicative of the lack of educational change in the Netherlands. Yet many of the Unification Commission's ideals would be adopted by the 1963 Secondary Education Act.

2) The Pacification Agreement 1917

Meanwhile, the struggle for equitable funding had not abated. The 1917 Pacification Agreement caused a Constitutional amendment with Article 208, discussed in detail in Chapter II, that ensured that private and state education would henceforth receive equal financial consideration. The Dutch deem this to be democratization of education. All levels and all categories of schools, whether private, public, denominational or neutral were placed on equal financial footing. The 1917 Pacification Agreement Commission that had been established in 1913, was chaired by D. Bos, the Speaker of the Second Chamber. The Agreement governed the financial equality of both public and private systems, where little difference actually existed in instruction but the ideological viewpoints differed. Public schools were administered by school Boards in the name of the municipality while private schools had private school Boards in the form of associations and foundations: their philosophy was based on theology first, then on pedagogical didactic premises. With this agreement the national administration would be financially responsible for the entire system. The freedom of education provided by the Constitution quickly dominated educational legislation and regulations in the country. Government interference in determining the content of the curriculum in private schools was eliminated. After 1920 the principle of financial equality, through the Pacification Agreement of 1917, gradually was extended to the other educational sectors. The lengthy school struggle finally ended after nearly a century of dissent. But the public school representatives were not happy with the solution; they reasoned that the traditional system had been destroyed.

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[151] See de Ridder-Symoens, Universities.

Many Dutch academics agree that this struggle has been romanticized and was not of the epic proportions claimed by the immense amount of literature on the subject; a researcher faces difficulty with restraint when reviewing this literature. On the whole, it can be argued that this was basically a struggle among elite members of Dutch society who had vested interests and used education as a pawn in their quest for political and ideological superiority. Moreover, this struggle only indirectly affected secondary education because the majority of the students at that time were enrolled in the elementary program. But it can be argued that the education struggle deleteriously increased societal tensions. J.A. Lauwerys wrote "...the link which should unite and join together has become a source of dissension which weakens the whole body politic."[152] This more so than any other factor has created the chaos that the Dutch found themselves entrenched in and which may never be eliminated from their society.

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[152] J.A. Lauwerys, "Prologue" The New Era (1956): 96. Lauwerys was a professor of Comparative Education at the University of London Institute of Education and chairman of the New Education Fellowship at the time of printing.

3) The Ministry of Education 1919

While not successful from a restructuring perspective and despite the reluctance of the government to implement some legislative change to the educational system, some other recommendations that derived from the Unification Commission's Report were adopted. Some recommendations had little to do with unifying the system but were important from an administrative perspective. Because of the Pacification Agreement and the consequent administrative efforts to distribute, enforce, and regulate the new method of financial control, the Ministry of the Interior lost jurisdiction over education. The former department of education under the Minister of the Interior was replaced by an entirely independent Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences which was established by Royal Decree on 25 September 1918. The Minister was aided by one or more State Secretaries and a Secretary General in charge of the Ministry's administration. The mandate must be clearly understood; the Ministry was merely an administrative department, incredibly pedagogy was not included as part of the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Sciences. The first minister was Johannes T.de Visser, (1857-1932) who oversaw the system which financially equalized state responsibility for the public and denominational sectors.[153]

4) Education Council

The Onderwijsraad, Education Council was created by Minister De Visser through an Act on 21 February 1919. This strictly advisory Council was staffed by independent experts who were forewarned to put their personal ideologies in abeyance. The Council was structured so that the Chair had to be both a professor and member of a political party. The Council was divided into five categories each representing the various sectors of the Ministry. The Council's recommendations were made public but the Minister was not obliged to follow them - after all, it was only an advisory body. Shortly thereafter criticism about the increasing distance between the educrats in the Ministry and real life resulted in the creation of numerous other councils, the Council of Teachers being one example.[154]

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[153] See Appendix H-Ministers of Education- for a list of all the ministers, their political affiliations and the length of their tenures in this portfolio.

[154] Idenburg, Schets 247-249.

5) The Vocational Education Act 1919

Another of the Unification Commission's ideas bore fruit with a thorough examination of the vocational sector. This occurred because the increased industrialization made vocational education substantially more important than it had been. Since the second half of the 19th century a fanning of vocational education of both elementary and secondary levels of domestic science, trade, agricultural, and business/commercial area had evolved. From a curriculum perspective these schools presented a vocation geared to the cognitive learning levels of the student. In 1919 the government decreed that they should include this vocational level of education in the secondary general level but legislatively separate from it under the auspices of a different Ministry. Consequently the 1919 Vocational Education Act was ratified, placing vocational education under the jurisdiction of government regulations. Before they passed this Act, vocational education had been the complete responsibility of private initiative.[155]

This Act included secondary and apprenticeship categories which they divided into three levels: elementary, secondary and post secondary. Little was said in the Act regarding curriculum content, but it allowed curriculum and program experiments as long as these had the Minister's approval. The Act also allowed for several years at the secondary level in which students reviewed material taught earlier but this time in depth for those finishing their education permanently. However, the Vocational Act cannot be considered a sequel to the developments or non-developments of secondary education. Rather, it should be viewed as an analogous unfolding.[156] The government allowed flexible rules for vocational education and the schools largely functioned without much state intervention.

6) The Elementary Education Act 1920

Despite the unsuccessful reception of the Unification Commission's

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[155] A number of businesses had established their own training schools which were specifically geared to their requirements. This often was the extent of the vocational training many students received. See for example, Tachtig Jaar Stork (Hengelo, O.: Machinefabriek Gebr. Stork & Co. N.V., 1948).

[156] This point is clearly noted in the thesis by Robert W. Hartog mentioned in Chapter II.

Report structural recommendations, some of its ideas were responsible for elements of the Elementary Education Act of 1920, the life's work of de Visser. This Act offered only a few regulations covering the classroom and general school supervision, but the categorization so common worldwide was legally instituted at this time. They divided schools into grades, they divided curriculum into subjects, and they legally obliged a child to take six years of elementary education.[157] The program was completed only if the student had taken all the mandatory subjects. The law also gave the Minister the right to experiment but this element was used rarely. The 1920 Elementary Act stayed in effect until 1981 with passage of the Primary Education Act to be effective in 1985 when the Dutch combined pre school with elementary school and made it an eight-year program called Basisschool [basic school]. In 1924 the Dutch passed an Act which imposed curriculum uniformity in regards to lesson plans and final exams.

7) The Education Bill 1934

After World War I and the Great Depression the educational community increasingly realized that their system was awry, that a need existed for inherent uniformity. As a result the second 20th century attempt to reorganize the Dutch educational system occurred in 1934. This endeavour was based largely on some recommendations of the 1910 Unification Commission Report. According to the proposed Bill of 1934 the school system should consist of the model illustrated in Chart 34. General education (AVO) and special education (SVO) would be the elementary level. The AVO would have consisted of the following programs: a two-year kindergarten program and if necessary a two-year elementary program; elementary education (LO) would be of a four year or six-year duration with a three year practical general elementary emphasis, a four year theoretical extended elementary program or a five-year program for girls; secondary education (MO) would have been offered at a four-year school for general secondary education; give preparatory higher education (VHO) would be offered at five year HBS, gymnasium, and lyceum; higher education was considered university education. Moreover, there would have been more categorization of the last two year of the HBS. The A group curriculum would consist of foreign languages and economics while the B group curriculum would focus on mathematics and natural sciences. The gymnasium also would have a differentiation geared to various programs. For example, the A group would concentrate on theology, law, arts and philosophy while the B group would focus on law, medicine, mathematics and sciences. The lyceum would offer a combination of the two programs. In addition to the AVO trade or vocational education was to have been included. This program was to offer education for the trades such as fisheries and factory training; navigation, domestic sciences, handicrafts, and social science oriented trades; commercial orientations; and agricultural and veterinary programs.

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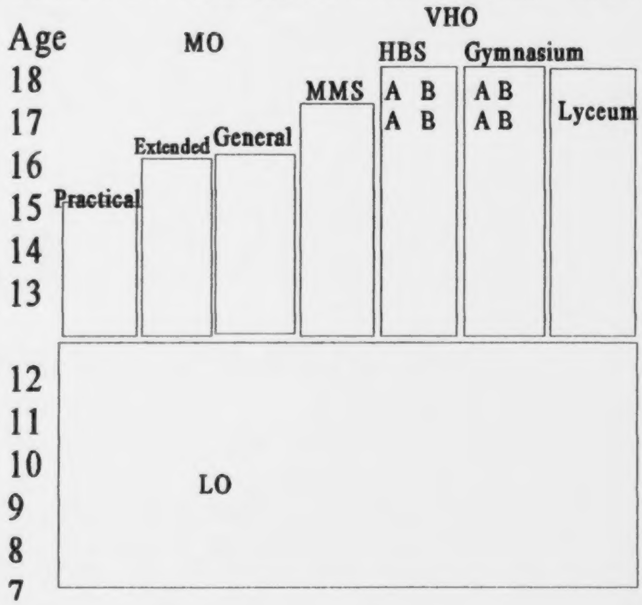
[157] Since these schools and the structure were discussed in Chapter II it is not necessary to replicate, refer to the Charts in that chapter.

However, as had occurred in 1913, the 1934 bills never reached legislation. The attempt did invite considerable criticism. It seemed that the state was not prepared to put the whole structure of the secondary education system through parliament. Not even small segments of the restructuring recommendations were enacted.

Obviously the Dutch had enormous diversification in their school system before World War II. These schools had emerged over the centuries and were part of the system without anyone considering their value. Moreover, the system had developed in a haphazard manner for no one guided the proliferation of the schools. The specificity of the Dutch schools was both commendable and geared as much as possible to individual needs which on the surface seemed quite progressive. On the other hand they so focussed the system to particularity that multipurpose comprehensive schools were simply not considered and this would ultimately create problems both financially and administratively. Quite clearly, by the time the Germans invaded the

CHART 34: PROPOSED STRUCTURE 1934



Netherlands and during the subsequent Reconstruction, there emerged a dire need for educational reform. However, the Nazis during the war would assail the system and again there was no chance for reform. The unique educational experience of the Dutch during World War II follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV-THE NAZI INTERLUDE 1940-1945

World War II was of far greater significance from an educational perspective than World War I or the inter war years, because the Netherlands was occupied, from 1940 to 1945, by the German Nazis. Initially one would think that very little occurred during this time but the Germans carried out many legislative changes, through decrees, Verordnungen, [Ordinances] while the Dutch fought vociferously to retain control over the philosophy of their education system. Dutch resistance to the German attempt to carry out National Socialist ideas is well known, especially in European circles, but it has not had the benefit of English language historical scholarship.[1] The Dutch, who prided themselves on their educational system despite its inherent problems, rejected Nazification that the Germans believed would have been heartily welcomed. Reorganizing the Dutch school system under Nazi ideals was an educational struggle that for the first time ever united the educational community. Many of those who protested, students, instructors and professors, paid a very high price, and education was virtually at a complete standstill by 1944.[2] The struggle was more complex than might be assumed, and even a preliminary survey raises many interesting questions.

When the Germans invaded the Netherlands on 10 May 1940, no one was fully prepared: naively neither Queen Wilhelmina nor the Dutch government believed the Germans would actually march into their country. Warnings from outside sources had been made repeatedly but the scanty preparations were largely futile and had little chance of succeeding. Probably most of the people believed that Hitler would honour Queen Wilhelmina's neutrality decree, dated September 1939. The Dutch also may have thought Hitler would need a motive, so were careful not to offend him, even after he had invaded Denmark and Norway. Of course, when Hitler attacked, using the pretext of Dutch collaboration with France and Great Britain, no one was prepared. The relatively quick capitulation of the Netherlands' antiquated army, after only four days of fighting, and the self-imposed exile of the royal family temporarily demoralized the Dutch people.[3]

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[1] While researching in the Netherlands in 1992 this author was informed that a Dutch language study of the wartime educational experience was underway. However names and titles were not supplied and whether or not this study was completed is unknown.

[2] Many incidences of interest occurred but due to brevity have been excluded in this cursory overview.

The Germans initially were quite kind and behaved liberally, perhaps because Hitler wanted to gently assimilate the Dutch into his Germanic cultural sphere. Moreover, the Reich's High Commissioner Dr. Arthur Seyss-Inquart (1882-1946) in his speech on 29 May 1940 assured the Dutch people that all their basic rights and institutions would be respected and maintained.[4] Seyss-Inquart emphatically stated that:

> We will neither oppress this land and its people imperialistically nor will we impose on them our political convictions. We will bring this about in no other way - only through our deportment and example.[5]

The fact that this had not occurred in other occupied territories incredibly did not worry the Dutch, many of whom apparently believed the High Commissioner and genuinely thought that the Germans would act in a courteous manner. Also, some segments of the people were members of the Dutch National Socialist Party although membership declined as the war progressed.

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[3] The Dutch army was still using equipment and methods which dated from World War I.

[4] Arthur Seyss-Inquart, an Austrian Catholic who trained as a lawyer and joined the Nazi party in 1938 when he became an army officer, was the brightest, most intellectual of Hitler's occupational leaders. He was the only Occupational leader to report directly to Hitler. Before his appointment as Reichs Commissioner in the Netherlands he had betrayed Austria to the Nazis allowing the 1938 Anschluss. He wrote a book about his Dutch experience entitled, Vier Jahre in den Niederlanden [Four years in the Netherlands] (Amsterdam: np, 1944). His cold demeanour and firm belief in his own convictions made him a symbol of hatred for the Dutch whose nickname for him was "Six and a Quarter." Seyss-Inquart was directly responsible for the deaths, by starvation, of over 100,000 people during the "Hunger Winter" of 1944. He was tried for crimes against humanity at Nuremberg and executed on 16 October, 1946.

[5] Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, 10 Volumes, (Nuremberg: 1947-1949): II 989.

The initial acceptance of the Nazi Occupation Government[6] and its tactics ever so slowly turned to hatred; each little incident of resistance to the proposed assimilation added to another. At the same time the Occupation Forces were slowly but methodically attempting to impose their New Order -- politically, economically, socially and ideologically-- on the Netherlands, despite their earlier promises to the contrary. Step by step infiltration of Nazism appeared in Dutch society. Among others, members of all levels of the educational system participated in an effort to sabotage the Nazification of all elements of Dutch society, especially Dutch education. The story of Dutch education during the war years was essentially one of a concerted endeavour at the elementary and secondary level and a disjointed resistance by faculty and students in the post secondary institutions. Nazis, like other invaders, were determined to impose their own ideals through education on all those they had conquered.[7] The result was a strong ideological conflict between the Dutch and Germans. By mid-war thousands of the Dutch, from professionals to church groups to factory workers were participating in active, open resistance to Nazi policies. Indeed the Dutch system, despite its inherent deficiencies, would prove an impediment to the German philosophy of education. Some Nazi initiatives were common to Occupation Governments, but in the Netherlands they ultimately were to prove a dismal failure. Nevertheless, they made them at great cost to the youth in the elementary, secondary, and post secondary institutions of the Netherlands.

A. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

As noted in the previous chapters, education in the Netherlands in 1940 was a complex, strongly differentiated system with a unique character. Education was and still is deemed to be a very major element of Dutch life. It should not be surprising then that the Dutch put up a struggle against the Nazis to retain their own educational system. The Nazis began imposing their changes on the elementary and secondary system before they concerned themselves with the post secondary institutions. C. van Eden wrote that in 1940, 2,500,000 students from the age of six to 21 were enrolled in the various stages of the education system.[8] Fifty-three percent in elementary education, while 40 percent were in secondary and higher education and six percent in other fields: agriculture, horticultural and industrial education.[9] Van Eden maintained that these figures remained largely unchanged during the war years but she obtained her information before the Ministry of Education's Annual Report for the war years was published in 1949. Dutch education during this time, as noted in the previous chapter was controlled by Boards, teachers and the Ministry of Education. However, parents had far greater control than all of the above noted groups combined.

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[6] Since the Dutch government was in exile but still operating as a government from London, the term Occupational Government, indicating the Nazi regime, will be used when referring to German government actions while the Dutch were occupied.

[7] G.A. Van Poelje, "Overheidsbemoeiingen met het onderwijs," [Government Interference with Education] in Onderdrukking en Verzet: Nederland in Oorlogstijd [Occupation and Resistance: the Netherlands in Wartime] H.M. Van Randwijk et al, eds., Four Volumes (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1955): 259-274 discusses the various incidences of German interference with the administrative element of the Dutch education system. Van Poelje was Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Sciences but was removed from this position and imprisoned by the Nazis.

The school system was disrupted as soon as the Nazis invaded. As is common with invasions the first area of interruption was physical with the appropriation by the Nazis of school buildings for the war effort. Dutch school buildings, especially large ecclesiastical boarding schools, were evacuated so the Nazis could billet their troops, or were used as military hospitals. School buildings also were used to house the many officials of the Nazi bureaucracy. Quarters for the Red Cross, the police, Jewish transports, the Wehrmacht and the labour transports all were housed in school buildings. Consequently, other schools became severely overcrowded, and eventually emergency schools had to be improvised. The situation had become desperate by 1943; some schools had to be reestablished up to 10 times within that three-year period. Schools were set up in various places: stables, garages, vestry rooms, lofts and cellars; and they even held classes in converted chicken coops. Frequently schools were spread across several different buildings. Moreover, during the winter months, the fuel shortage often meant a seasonal recess. The smooth flow of the educational system was thus impeded.

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[8] C. van Eden, "The Education of Youth," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 245 (May 1946): 132. Van Eden was Division Chief of Cultural Statistics of the CBS and edited the Annual Reports on education.

[9] Ibid, 132.

The Nazis tried to put their stamp on Dutch education as early as 1940 by establishing the Educators' Guild, which advocated the National Socialist educational ideology. They compelled Dutch teachers to attend Guild meetings so that they could indoctrinate them with Nazi policies. But these meetings failed to achieve their objectives: often the Dutch teachers successfully turned these meetings into demonstrations against the Nationale Socialistische Bond NSB, the Dutch National Socialist Party. Educational resistance by the Dutch obviously had become effective and the Nazis began their counter resistance in earnest with the implementation of several strategies to Nazify the system. In January 1942 the Occupational Government decreed that they could dismiss teachers and inspectors if they obstructed the Nazification attempt on the educational system in the Netherlands in any way. Many Dutch, from teachers to education officials, retaliated by threatening the Occupying officials with resignations. In addition, thousands of parents felt obliged to keep their children from attending school. These threats were strong enough to make the Nazis drop the entire issue.

Another area where they attempted Nazification was with the appointments decree. Private School Boards had traditionally appointed whomever they pleased; this had long been a constitutional right. The Nazis now decreed that they would take over this responsibility. Most Boards paid little attention to this decree and continued to make appointments without German approval. In one instance of outright resistance, a Board rejected the appointment of an NSB party member selected by the Occupying Government. They arrested and imprisoned the entire Board; the NSB member became school principal. Teachers retaliated by threatening not to give lessons, and parents again announced their intention to keep their children at home. The Nazis had little choice but to release the Board members, reopen the school, and remove the NSB member from his position.

A wartime shortage of teaching professionals also affected the elementary and secondary educational system. This occurred because the Nazis reassigned teachers and principals to labour intensive work such as farming or construction.[10] In 1943 the Nazis decreed that approximately 20 percent of the male teachers were to be deported to Germany to work as labourers. To the Dutch teachers this was the signal for going underground, and only two percent of the labour quota was met.[11] In some communities German soldiers carried out dragnet raids in the secondary schools in which they removed and took the whole male student population as labour conscripts to Germany.

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[10] Many professors, for example, were arrested and held hostage at St. Michielsgestel to ensure that students would report for labour duty.

As the Nazis tried to reform the Dutch educational system and model it on their own, teacher training became a target. The Occupiers believed that they could infuse student teachers with Nazi ideology and that elementary education would then yield good Nazis. In 1941 student teachers were forced to study the components of Nazi Normal Schools. A new curriculum that included such courses as Nazi ideology and marching was introduced. These courses were to be of six months' duration and without having completed these courses, they would not allow that new teachers took up their positions; this plan was never fully implemented.

In yet another initiative, the Occupational Government attempted to establish separate schools and departments for elementary instruction for the VGLO seventh and eighth school years that would be included as part of the elementary school program.[12] The Nazis deemed this to be terminal education that would reinforce the students' allegiance to their native area, but with Nazi political overtones. The core subjects in the curriculum were manual labour for the boys, while the girls were to be taught domestic sciences. Many parents were averse to this type of education and either sent their children to other educational institutions or kept them out of school entirely. Moreover, there were few school buildings available and teachers were not adequately trained in these new areas. Thus, this Nazi idea also failed.

Implementing educational reform without educational tools is impossible, and the Occupational Government also tried to take control over these areas. Textbooks, for example, were examined for ideas the Nazis discouraged. However, Dutch textbooks had never been anti-German: of the approximately

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[11] Van Eden, 132.

[12] See Chart I in Chapter II that explains where the seventh and eighth school years, VGLO, fit into the structure of Dutch education.

5,000 books that students surveyed in secondary education, only 155 were subjected to censorship, and most of these were changed only slightly.[13] In fact, the German system of education had traditionally influenced the Dutch education system, this is one reason why the Dutch changed their system in such a plodding manner, and this is why they so surprised the Germans at the resistance of the Dutch to their policies; they simply did not realize that the Dutch were against Nazi policies rather than the Germanic style of education. Textbooks that included pictures of the Royal Family offended the Occupational Government and these pictures were literally cut from the textbooks, though some pictures only had the face of Queen Wilhelmina cut out as the Nazis apparently did not mind pictures of deceased Royal Family members. All patriotic songs with "Orange" in them were prohibited and small statues or likenesses of Royal Family members were to be removed from public view.

The Nazi government also introduced a pamphlet entitled Our Forebears that depicted the high cultural level the Germans believed they had reached and was meant to foster German racial pride in the Dutch people. The Occupiers made the pamphlet compulsory reading at the elementary level. An attempt also was made to locate a historical source that described the Dutch as an offshoot of the Germanic world, and eligible for a daughterly relationship with Hitler's Reich. Although German control over the Netherlands from the ninth to the 15th century was adequate precedent from a historical viewpoint, no such source was found. However, Hitler did have a point about the Dutch education system. Many major elements of Dutch education were borrowed from the Germans and only in the 1980s and 1990s did the Dutch turn to Anglo Saxon traditions.

Also, in 1941, the Occupiers introduced German educational films into the Dutch educational system. Dutch teachers deemed that some were of excellent quality, but many others were mere propaganda for Nazi ideology. The Foundation for Netherlands Educational Films successfully sabotaged any German film presentations, despite their pedagogical value, but succeeded in producing approximately 60 entirely Dutch educational films during the war years. This suggests that the Nazi influence was not as pervasive in the

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[13] Van Eden, 135.

Netherlands elementary and secondary education program as the Dutch historians like to claim.

The Educator's Guild also tried to use the school radio as a tool for introducing National Socialist ideology. Radio programs with such titles as "Feats of Arms in the Struggle of the German Nations against Communism," and "Attachment to Race and Soil," were to be used to indoctrinate Dutch students. However, the Netherlands educational inspectorate had vetoed school radios before the war so they could not carry out the plan.

The deprivations of war itself brought many obstacles to Dutch education. As the war progressed the paper shortage became acute and this provided an additional impediment to teaching. Stern measures had to be taken in the publication of textbooks, and students were forced to use out-of-date and diverse editions. Note books used lower grade paper and were rationed, and sometimes students were forced to use slates. Shortages also contributed to considerable difficulty in teaching such subjects as needlework, physics, chemistry and industrial training; they rationed the necessary supplies severely.

The curriculum in secondary education also changed during the Occupation with the implementation of physical education and the teaching of the German language. Dutch educational authorities had only recently settled the question of physical education in the schools, which had become compulsory only as late as 1940.[14] This subject naturally appealed to the Occupational Government but they wanted a more military, drill-like gymnastics program with which the Dutch disagreed so they never firmly established this program. Imposing the German language on the educational system was important for National Socialist ideology. It was Berlin, rather than officials in the Occupational Government in the Netherlands that inflicted this order on the Dutch system. This was reminiscent of the 1795 attempt by the French Occupation Forces to make French the first language in Dutch elementary schools. This was not an unusual idea. Occupying Forces normally commence their ideological campaigns with enforcement of their own language, Japan and the USSR being other 20th century examples. Consequently, German language training was to commence in the VGLO schools of the elementary school program. Implementing this change led to problems of educational quality for most Dutch elementary teachers were not experienced in teaching German because most of them had chosen English or French during their own school days. Moreover, few parents cooperated with this addition to the curriculum; their parents did not give many students permission to attend these classes. The Nazis could do little about that because the logistics of monitoring attendance was beyond their manpower. Thus, the implementation of German style physical education and German language teaching was not very successful in the elementary schools. The secondary schools were also forced to include German language in the curriculum. A foreign language element traditionally was included at this level but the compulsory element greatly irritated most of the Dutch people, and the students came to hate the subject--indicating their displeasure by purposely failing their German language examinations.

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[14] Most municipalities had gymnastic clubs so historically there was little need for the inclusion of this component in the curriculum.

The pupils themselves displayed other anti-Nazi tendencies. In one incident boys aged 16 to 18 at an Amsterdam MULO school were to write their names on a piece of paper so that they could be considered for membership in the Jeugdstorm, Storm Youth. These names would then be used for propaganda purposes to entice others to join. This was illegal but the Nazis worked around the legalities and they compelled the boys to follow the instructions. The boys followed the instructions and filled the names out, not with their own but with names such as Winston Churchill, Albert Einstein, Franklin Roosevelt, Dwight Eisenhower and the like. This is typically Dutch and quite indicative of the yin and yang element in Dutch society. The boys complied with the legal requirements but with their individuality in using other names hindered the Nazi propaganda attempt.[15]Another example, when Hitler announced that he considered Anton Mussert, the head of the Dutch NSB, the Führer of the Dutch people, the students went on a strike at the secondary school that Mussert had attended as a boy. Dutch teachers also felt compelled to prevent students from demonstrating too vociferously on the anniversaries of the German invasion and Royal birthdays. On Prince Bernard's first birthday after The Occupation, the

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[15] L. F. Kleiterp, "Het Lager en Voortgezet Onderwijs," [Lower and Secondary Education] in Onderdrukking en Verzet: Nederland in Oorlogstijd III [Occupation and Resistance: the Netherlands inWartime] H.M. Van Randwijk et al, eds., (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1955): 289.

Dutch had displayed their loyalty to the Royal Family by wearing white carnations, Bernard's trademark, and by placing flowers at all monuments to the Royal Family members.[16] Hitler was infuriated with "die verdammten Hollander" [those damned Dutch] and promptly began his campaign to remove all traces of loyalty to the royal family from that point on.[17]

School absences were another indication of problems with the Nazi imposed educational policies. Before 1943 the absences at elementary schools were not alarming, but after this decisive year absences climbed sixfold.[18] However, these absences were not all due to resentment of German reform. The German also restricted some students from attending classes for various reasons. Among the archives at the Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogdocumentatie, State Institute for War Documentation, is a note dated 6 September 1941 in which a student in Hilversum is refused entry to his gymnasium school because he protested against certain German actions; they did not mention the specifics in the notice.[19] However, in large part absences were due to the deprivations brought on by the war itself: many students lacked adequate clothing and shoes, others were too malnourished and ill to attend school. Yet others went to work to supplement the family income. Some parents purposely kept their children home to help in the search for wood and food. In addition, the shortage of bicycle tires, continuous shelling of the main transportation routes, and damage from bombings also contributed to the rise in absences. [20] The heavy bombing by the Allies resulted in 1943, to a national absence rate of 70 percent.[21] The lower junior level of secondary education schools numbered 7,119 on 31 December 1943 with a total student enrolment of 1,172,336.[22]

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[16] German born Prince Bernard had married Crown Princess Juliana on 7 January 1937 and had become a much-loved member of the Royal Family.

[17] C.B. Cornelissen and J. Slettenhaar, in de schaduw van de adelaar [In the shadow of the eagle] (Enschede: Twents Gelderse Uitgeverij Witkam b.v., 1982), 97.

[18] Van Eden, 138.

[19] Archief Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogdocumentatie, MMA.Z.nr.3234. [State Institute for War Documentation].

[20] Some problems exist with the veracity of the wartime statistics which is why some Dutch academics leave them out altogether. The government in exile instructed the Dutch educational community to leave the registrations intact, not to make changes to the registrations until the war was over, as Van Eden suggested in her article. However, the

The memories of a wartime secondary student might shed some light on this topic. Henk van Baaren attended the HBS Wilhelmina School on the Industriestraat [Industry Street] in Hengelo, an industrial town strategic to both Germans and the Allies in the eastern Netherlands bordering Germany. The school was within the Stork complex that erroneously was perceived by the Allies as a weapons factory. The Allied aim was not only Stork but also the marshalling yards. Thus, the Allies from 1942 to 1944 repeatedly bombed the Stork complex. The bombings resulted in the complete destruction of Hengelo's vital inner area, due to its proximity to Stork; it was separated from the inner area by the railway that had north, south, west and easterly connections. They achieved their goal of destruction when in one episode 97 tonnes of bombs were dropped on Hengelo.[23] The devastation was horrendous. After several class interruptions the HBS school was closed in 1943 for the duration of the war. The school was forced to hold classes in two other schools, the Beukweg School and the Wilbert School. Two first year classes, two second year classes, two third year classes and the fourth and fifth year classes were divided into the A and B categories. In 1942, some 193 students had registered. The 1943 register listed a total of 163 pupils in the first four years; 126 passed the exams and were promoted while 37 students failed.[24] English language lessons continued during the war to the surprise of the educational authorities. Van Baaren in his reminiscences indicated that Jewish children had disappeared but that the HBS

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majority of the sources used for this chapter are derived from the Ministry of Education's Annual Report and are thought to be as accurate as possible.

[21] Ibid, 139.

[22] Annual Report 1944, 1945, and 1946, 224.

[23] Henk van Baaren, "71 Marauders gooiden 97 ton bommen op Hengelo," [Seventy one Marauders dropped 97 tonnes of bombs on Hengelo] Oald Hengel 19 no. 5 (October 1994): 107.

[24] Henk van Baaren, "In de oorlog naar de HBS," [To HBS during the war] Oald Hengel 19 no. 4 (August, 1994): 91.

school students did not appreciate children of NSB members. In 1944 classes were cancelled due to the heavy bombardments but homework assignments were expected to be completed; this plan proved insufficient. After the war classes resumed at the original HBS Wilhelmina School location and the various classes passed automatically because the educational authorities considered that the war period was a learning experience in itself. Those who might have failed in 1946 were put back one year and given the chance to catch up. It did not take long for the school clubs, newspaper and extracurricular activities to resume. The German Occupation obviously affected the elementary and secondary school system in the Netherlands. However, the system never fell prey to the Nazification attempts and the goals of the Occupational Government were thwarted in this respect.

B. POST SECONDARY RESISTANCE

As in Germany, the Nazis made a concerted effort to convert the post secondary system. The goal was to remove the academic base to one subordinated by Nazi ideology; ultimately the Occupiers focussed on politicization of the post secondary system. Unlike the elementary and secondary system, the universities and colleges in the Netherlands never mounted a united resistance during the war, although there were nevertheless many isolated instances of resistance to Nazification. These individual incidents also contributed to the overall failure to implement National Socialist ideology in higher education and to the eventual collapse of Dutch higher education during World War II. This struggle has scarcely been mentioned in non-Dutch sources and certainly warrants a close examination.

1) Faculty

Some professors at Leiden University did not share the initial naivete, the early Dutch acceptance of the occupation that hid true Nazi intentions. They quite clearly understood the deception of the plan for Occupation, what National Socialism ultimately entailed, and what the Dutch people eventually would have to endure. These professors united to form what became known as the "Little Group," for the purpose of consultation and encouragement of resistance.

The Nazis did not keep their promises to refrain from interfering with Dutch institutions for very long. However, some separate incidents were sometimes quite poignant. One Nijmegen professor had written a journal article

"Het recht van den bezetter" [The right of the Occupiers] for which he paid with his life at Dachau concentration camp. The first interference with Dutch society occurred only four months after the invasion in the form of anti-Jewish racial purity laws, an idea to which the Dutch did not adhere.[25] The Netherlands' relationship with Jews on the whole had been good since the 16th century when Jews received equal civil status.[26] The new Occupation Laws delineated differences between Jews and non-Jews.[27] In September 1940 measures were taken to prevent Jewish officials from being reappointed to their professional positions, in particular teaching posts. This proposal infuriated many Dutch professors, particularly Paul Scholten of Amsterdam and B.M. Telders of Leiden. They initiated a general protest that spread through all the universities and colleges and resulted in what became known as the Scholten Petition. This petition informed the Germans that the "people of the Netherlands have never known a Jewish problem.... Conflicts between this part of the population and other Netherlanders have never been known in its history."[28] Approximately 80 percent of the signatories originated from the universities of Groningen and Leiden; 229 in total signed the petition, which was forwarded on 13 October 1940 to the High Commissioner.[29] The petition, however, was not very effective as Seyss-Inquart simply ignored it.

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[25] According to Lucy Davidowicz in The War Against the Jews :1933-1945 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), 366-368, a Nazi-sponsored census dated 27 August 1941, based on Nazi racial policies, "showed 160,820 registrations, 140,552 of them Jews, 14,549 "half-Jews," and 5,719 "quarter-Jews." The majority of the Jews lived in Amsterdam. Davidowicz also indicated that by 1940 at least 30,000 refugees from Austria and Germany had arrived in the Netherlands.

[26] The best Dutch source on the Jewish element of the war is Jacques Presser, Ondergang: De Vervolging en Verdelging van het Nederlandse Jodendom: 1940-1945 which was published in English as The Destruction of the Dutch Jews ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1965). Presser (1899-1970) wrote in a biased manner concerning the Dutch Jews but stated in his introduction that he was not apologizing for this.

[27] The Nazi effort to eliminate Jews from Dutch society increasingly became more humiliating as the war progressed. For example, in 1941 Jews could not possess a radio, travel or move, were forbidden membership in non-Jewish clubs and organizations, could not have non-Jewish servants, were refused entry into public places such as hotels, theatres, and swimming pools, nor could they enter Council schools. In 1942, the discrimination increased in its intensity: Jews could not drive cars, were not allowed to marry non-Jews, were compelled to carry an identification card with the initial J, could not go fishing, could not buy vegetables in non-Jewish shops, could not use the telephone, could not ride bicycles, could not sit on public benches, and extramarital intercourse with a non-Jew was forbidden on threat of a severe penalty. This discrimination increased; by 1944 the majority of the Dutch Jews had been annihilated. See Appendix I -Jewish Victims 1942-1944- for an idea of the numbers shipped to various concentration camps.

To be effective concerning their racial policies, the Nazis needed to ascertain the location and numbers of the Jews in the Netherlands. To implement this, the Occupiers introduced ancestry forms and sent to officials throughout the Netherlands and also to those teaching at the post secondary level. This measure generated considerable furor because dismissal could be anticipated in the future for those with Jewish ancestry. In this case, however, the Occupiers inflamed the student population with anger because more than half of the teaching faculty was Jewish meaning their instructors would have to deal with Occupation policies. The students sent Seyss-Inquart thousands of petitions vehemently protesting this action. However, opinion on completing the ancestry form varied in academic circles. Some Jewish faculty members returned the forms uncompleted; the majority thought it wise to assist the Germans by filling the card in but they did so conditionally, under protest; and a few agreed to fill them in but without the protest stipulation. The final decision of the "Little Group" was to fill in the forms, under protest, but a general meeting was to be held among faculty members to uphold this decision; the German officials obstructed this meeting. Nevertheless, individual faculty members filled the ancestry forms with the stipulation that they protested this type of discrimination by quoting from the Dutch Constitution Article 5 that states that "Every Netherlander may be appointed to any public office" and Article 176 which states that "followers of the different religions all enjoy the same civil and citizenship rights and have the same claim to the exercise of dignities, offices, and functions."[30] The Dutch deem this to be the fundamental unifying element of their society. The faculty members concluded their protest by stating in writing that any dismissal of professors had to be regulated by the 1876 Higher Education Act that was the exclusive prerogative of the Crown. That this was a largely ineffective measure is proven by the fact that the Nazis had as of 29 May 1940 considered themselves as acting in place of the Crown. Although these protests were of somewhat limited consequence, the Dutch felt that at least they had expressed their opinion of Nazi policies to the Occupiers. Professor Scholten then initiated academic conferences that they held throughout the war years, later under the leadership of Professor J. Oranje of the Free University of Amsterdam. This group of professors formed a common front against the Occupation Government, but they never developed into a unified, effective force as their activities were limited to sending protest letters that were largely ignored.

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[28] R. D. Kollewijn, "The Dutch Universities Under Nazi Domination," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 245 (May 1946): 119.

[29] A. J. van der Leeuw, "De Universiteiten en Hogescholen," [The Universities and Higher Schools] in Onderdrukking en Verzet: Nederland in Oorlogstijd [Occupation and Resistance: the Netherlands in Wartime] 3 H.M.Van Randwijk et al, eds., (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1955): 309.

The first of the dismissals on so-called racial grounds occurred in November 1940 when the Occupational Government removed the majority of the Jewish professors from their positions. Amsterdam, which had the largest Jewish population, proportionally lost the most professors. In Delft on 25 November 1940 a spontaneous strike followed the announcement of Professor A.C. Josephus Jitta's dismissal to which a student leader, J.B.F van Hasselt, replied "Blessed are those who follow the path of justice."[31] For uttering these few words the Occupiers quickly arrested and sent Van Hasselt to Buchenwald concentration camp where he died. However, the dismissal of Professor E.M. Meyers, a highly respected European scholar and law professor at Leiden University, incited the strongest response from students. Professor Meyers, who was held in great affection by his students, was notified on 22 November that effective 26 November 1940 he would be relieved from his academic post. The news spread rapidly throughout Leiden university, and the students drifted to Meyers' lecture theatre where he was scheduled to give a class. Students and faculty members from the other departments were also drawn to the lecture theatre that quickly filled to dangerous levels. Consequently the crowd had to be moved to the hall where Hugo Grotius once taught; the irony seems, even today, to be quite haunting. No one presented the scheduled lecture at the regular ten o'clock class time. Everyone waited around to see what would happen. Fifteen minutes later Professor P.O. Cleveringa, the Dean of Law, entered the room, along with other professors and gave a speech that Dutch historians claim is one of the most moving, most effective, and most characteristic of Dutch history. Cleveringa read the dismissal notice to the crowd and while trying to keep his emotions in check, denounced the Nazis, described Meyers' character, his scholarly contributions, and his 30 years of service to Leiden. Then he publicly challenged the Nazis to leave Meyers in his position because there was absolutely no crime in being Jewish. He concluded by stating that the Dutch had little choice but to bend before the superior military strength of the Nazi regime and he warned students not to gravitate toward senseless, ill conceived actions.

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[30] Kollewijn, 3: 120.

[31] Van der Leeuw, 3: 311.

At the conclusion of the speech the crowd defiantly sang the Wilhelmus, the national anthem, which had been banned by the Occupational Government, and people in the streets outside the University building, who had heard the speech through loudspeakers, joined in. Cleveringa's speech affected the Dutch psyche; the Nazis had been informed in no uncertain terms what the academic community thought of their racial policies. Mimeographed copies of the speech were circulated clandestinely throughout the country and this small protest action served as an eye-opener for many Dutch people. Students boycotted classes for a week but they were cognizant of Cleveringa's warning to act calmly, rationally, and judiciously. The fact that there had been no organized plan to oppose them bewildered the Nazi officials. Seyss Inquart was quoted as saying Nichts ist hier organisiert, doch alles stimmt,[32] (Nothing is organized here, but everything works) and responded to the speech by arresting Professor Cleveringa and closing Leiden and Delft Universities.[33] Seyss-Inquart also closed the Technical School at Delft. In December 1940 the Occupational Government disbanded most of the students' associations and student clubs; however student groups at Amsterdam and Groningen disbanded themselves, so that they would not give the Government that satisfaction. The Occupiers arrested Professor Telders of Leiden on the charge of provoking students to insurrection, perhaps because Seyss-Inquart held a particular grudge against him. Telders had written an article earlier denouncing Seyss-Inquart as an Austrian traitor and he continually berated the Nazis for flouting international Occupation Laws. Telders clearly was a threat to Seyss-Inquart, so he was arrested and died, in April 1945 in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.[34] The attempt of the post secondary academic community to prevent the implementation of Jewish segregation is laudable, but the fact remains that it was largely ineffective. Seyss-Inquart paid little attention to the protest letters. It is well known that he enjoyed performing what he made a comical ceremony of throwing them in his wastebasket, and the dismissals and executions were carried out nonetheless.

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[32] Kollewijn, 3: 122. This has also been said as follows: Nichts is hier organisiert, aber alles klappt genau! and means the same thing.

[33] See Appendix J - Closures of Post Secondary Institutions 1941-1944- for information on the closures and re openings of the educational institutions during the war period. This material is derived from the Annual Report 1944, 45, and 46.

To show their good intentions, the Occupational Government informed the University of Leiden and the Technical School Boards that they could reopen them if only they asked for permission. However, the Leiden Board of Governors and the faculty held that the Nazi government had closed the institutions illegally and that if they did request the reopening, an undesirable precedent would be set. The measures against the Jews escalated, and the Dutch refusal to acquiesce on this issue was adamant. The Occupational Government, however, needed the expertise of the graduating students, especially at the Technical School, and they forced it to reopen in April 1941 giving the Dutch a moral victory. The Occupation Government officially closed only Leiden and the Technical School at Delft: the Dutch closed all the other educational institutions themselves on principle. At Leiden, which was officially closed from 27 November 1940 to 30 April 1941, students were allowed to write their exams but the University closed again on 19 November 1941.[35]

The acceleration of the Nazification of the educational arena was quite evident by this time; a number of examples indicate this. In one instance the chair of a Board of Governors was replaced by a government appointed NSB member who, shortly afterward, was given all the powers held by the collective board. This reduction of their authority resulted in the threat of immediate resignations by all the Board members. Once the new board chair was advised of this plan, an announcement followed within days that this particular change in post secondary educational policy would be suspended temporarily. At the faculty level, rumours abounded in late summer and early fall of 1941 that many Leiden professors were to be discharged from their positions and replaced by Nazi party members. The "Little Group" of professors advised the government that the appointment of Nazi professors would result in resignation by the rest of the faculty at the university. Once the Occupying Government was advised of this plan, an announcement followed quickly that this particular scheme would also be abandoned.

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[34] There are many other names and stories that could be included in this chapter but this is material for an entirely different research project.

[35] Annual Report, 1944, 1945 and 1946 78-79.

The force of the Occupational policies increased in 1942. In Amsterdam, on January 22, the Nazi government reacted vigorously to a bomb blast through the headquarters of the National Socialist Student Association. Retaliation was swift; 10 professors were threatened with immediate dismissal and arrest. However, having considered the ill effects this would have on the functioning of the Amsterdam universities, which might be closed, they fined the entire city of Amsterdam instead. Simultaneously, some leading Amsterdam citizens-among them five prominent anti-Nazi professors-- were arrested and incarcerated at the concentration camp at Amersfoort for six months. These professors, plus five others were discharged from their academic positions. In one case the wife and two infant children of an Amsterdam professor, whom the Nazis could not find, were temporarily imprisoned. Thirty instructors at the Municipal University of Amsterdam were also deprived of their positions; in fact, the Economics faculty had no staff left at all.[36] The Free University of Amsterdam, which was a private institution, was also instructed to make changes in its faculty but refused to comply with the Nazi demands.

Meanwhile, the NSB was quite resentful of the delay in the Nazification of Leiden University, and in July 1941 the Occupational Government informed the Dutch that the character of Leiden University had to change to National Socialist lines. Two NSB members, Dr. T. Goedewaagen and the Flemish Dr.

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[36] Van der Leeuw, 3: 335.

R. Van Genechten, obtained positions as special professors of Political Economy. Van Genechten earlier had played a leading role in the closing of Leiden University during examination periods on the grounds that the Nazification policies had not been successfully implemented. His constant agitation revived the Nazification attempt at Leiden University. April 1942 saw the first replacement of a faculty member by an NSB member at Leiden University. R. Kranenburg, a professor of Constitutional Law, of the already short-staffed Law faculty was the first to lose his position; they had dismissed him in March, but the news was not made public until the following month. The official reason for his dismissal was that his recent publication on administrative law omitted any mention of the many ordinances or decrees that Seyss-Inquart had made. Kranenburg had already answered these charges by arguing that since the Occupation would only be temporary he saw no need to include them. This answer infuriated the Occupational Government, and the "reform" of Leiden's Law faculty derived mostly from this incident.[37] To counter this dismissal, the "Little Group" held a meeting on 28 April 1942 at which the revered Dutch historian Johann Huizinga convinced the group members that a strike was the answer and that they should persuade other faculty members to join this action. They reached a consensus, and the next day many other professors who had not attended the meeting, agreed to this solution. By early May approximately 80 percent of the Leiden professors resigned their positions and the remainder of the staff followed.[38] Leiden University emptied within two weeks. The Nazi government and the NSB members tried to reopen the University, hoping to have at least one functioning faculty, but neither academic nor non-academic staff could be found to fill the empty positions. The official reaction was far less dramatic than NSB members in the Department of Education had anticipated. They had threatened the Dutch professors with predictions of countless deaths, virtual transference of all educational tools such as libraries and complete laboratories to Germany and wholesale evacuation of other materials; none of these threats came to fruition in 1942. However, the Nazis took approximately

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[37] See P. Idenburg, De Leidse Universiteit 1928-1946 Vernieuwing en Verzet [The Leiden University 1928-1946 Renewal and Resistance] (The Hague: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1978).

[38] Werner Warmbrunn, The Dutch Under German Occupation 1940-1945 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), 149.

20 Leiden professors hostage, and although all eventually were released, not one was permitted to live in Leiden itself.

Delft University suffered more seriously because the gravity of its resistance to the Nazi regime was stronger. The students and teaching faculty clandestinely had been collecting and also manufacturing arms for the resistance effort since the first days of the Occupation. Due to these activities in early May 1942 two professors and 70 students were arrested and executed by the Germans.[39] This incident made a considerable impression in academic circles but clearly suggests that the Nazis were only willing to go so far in tolerating Dutch protests and resistance activities.

2) Students

The college and university students accomplished quite different results. Their activities against the Occupiers were initially entirely spontaneous, but they quickly became unified and considerably productive throughout the war years. Soon after the Nazi invasion, two Leiden students, brothers J. and H. Drion, established the first of the many underground papers, De Geus onder studenten [The Gueux Among Students]; this eventually became one of the most widely read underground papers in the Netherlands during the war years.[40]

One of the most pressing problems Hitler faced was the need for labourers to work in his war economy. The Nazis in 1942 were also quite actively pursuing labour conscription to support their war machine. German military losses, especially in the Soviet Union, had been devastating and these losses created an immense replacement need.[41] Students who had become aware of these events quietly went underground. The Nazis were quite keen on recruiting students from the navigational schools but the bid to compel these students to join the German Navy resulted in most of the nautical education students also going underground.

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[39] J. J. Bolhuis, "Bombardementen en Vernielingen," [Bombardments and Destruction] in Onderdrukking en Verzet: Nederland in Oorlogstijd 4 [Occupation and Resistance: the Netherlands in Wartime] H.M. Van Randwijk et al. eds., (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus,1955): 310.

[40] The underground newspapers that were published during the war warrant their own historian, there were hundreds of illegal newspapers, many of which survived the Occupation period.

[41] Joseph Goebbels noted in his diary that "a total of 952,141 (including 29,572 officers)" had been lost. Source: Louis Lochner, ed., The Goebbels Diaries 1942-1943 (New

Still, the labour service imposed on the Dutch by the Nazis played a most significant role in the desolate educational picture. The first labour action from April to September 1942 netted the Nazi war effort more than a million and a half foreign workers.[42] Of this figure the Dutch were forced to contribute 25,395 workers.[43] The second labour drive, held from August to December 1942 resulted in 98,000 deportations from the Netherlands.[44] Of the 65,000 deported in June and July of 1943, 41,000 were students under the age of 18 and at the war's end it is thought that approximately 80,000 Dutch students under age 21 were working in Germany; of this total only 4,200 had voluntarily reported to the Occupational Government.[45] Forcible deportation and violent threats had been the practice of the Nazis up to this point. However, the Occupational Forces continually increased their quotas. This drive for modern day slaves also came to those universities that had not closed. On 6 February 1943, 225 students from Amsterdam, including 75 from the Free University, 215 from Delft, 119 from Utrecht, and 42 from Wageningen were forcibly removed from their desks, their laboratories, hospitals and libraries by the Nazis; they arrested and immediately deported them to labour camps in Germany.[46] However, even these numbers did not satisfy the Nazis in Germany, so they issued an Ordinance on 11 March 1943 that stipulated that if a student signed

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York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948), 112.

[42] Edward Homze, Foreign Labor in Nazi Germany (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 137.

[43] Louis de Jong, Het Koninkrijk Der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog [The Kingdom of the Netherlands during World War II] Twelve volumes ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 6-2: 779-782.

[44] International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), 27: 117.

[45] Van Eden, 139.

[46] De Jong, 6-2: 615.

a loyalty oath to the government, he could continue with their program as long as the labour quota was fulfilled. If, however, a student refused to sign this loyalty declaration, he would be considered unemployed and eligible to work in Germany. Approximately 15 percent of the student population signed the declaration; some simply did not want to interrupt their studies, the war having turned their lives upside down as it was.[47] Yet other students, already involved in underground activities, signed mainly so that they could continue with these endeavours. The majority of these students saw little significance in signing the loyalty declaration because they did not feel morally bound by German policy.

In early May 1943 the Occupation Government issued an Ordinance stipulating that those who had not yet signed the declaration were to report to designated transit stations for deportation to Germany. Hundreds of students obeyed this summons. At first glance this gesture might seem bewildering after all the previous protest actions, but terror was crushing the Netherlands in May 1943; the Germans in retaliation had proclaimed martial law against the first nationwide active resistance of the war. The increasingly acute shortage of labour for Germany had resulted in a nationwide labour call announced on 29 April. This conscription included the reinternment of the demobilized Dutch forces that totalled at least 200,000 men.[48] For the Dutch this was the final insult imposed on them by the Nazis. The immediate Dutch reaction was a spontaneous strike that erupted at the Stork factory in Hengelo, the same town mentioned earlier in this chapter and in Chapter II. This event which became known as the April-May 1943 strike, unlike a localized strike in Amsterdam in February 1941, spread throughout most of the Netherlands as seen in Appendix K - Extent of the Strike- and totally surprised the Germans.[49] Nearly the whole nation came to a standstill for almost a week.

Hitler's reaction, was brutal; at first only seven strikers were killed and 45 wounded.[50] During that week, outside the strikers' circle, hundreds of citizens were shot dead on the street, for committing curfew violations, for gathering in groups of more than two people, for leaving a restaurant if a German walked in and for refusing to salute German soldiers.[51] Obviously there was no longer any pretense by the Occupiers for they had taken "the iron fist right out of its velvet glove."[52] After the strike, students easily became intimidated once the Occupational Government threatened their parents with reprisals. Many saw conscription to Germany as their only alternative. Nevertheless, nearly 70 percent of the students disobeyed German orders and stayed in the Netherlands.[53] Officials promised the students work suited to their vocations, but in practice this applied only to those studying medicine and pharmacology. News about the treatment students were receiving in Germany soon leaked out. Many students, accustomed to intellectual endeavours, were forced to work at manual labour up to 90 hours a week, sometimes in shifts that lasted up to 36 hours. One method of dissent was that of the presidents of colleges and universities in Amsterdam, Delft, Nijmegen, Tilburg, Rotterdam, and the Free University of Amsterdam, who wrote a collective letter dated 15 March 1944 expressing their outrage at the cruel and unjust treatment to which their students were subjected. The names of some 25 students, who had already died of exhaustion and malnutrition, were included in the letter to strengthen the point.[54] The Germans were surprised that this information was in the hands of the signatories. This occurred because Professor J. Oranje of the Free University of Amsterdam had obtained a travel pass to Germany and clandestinely visited the students in their various locations. Once Oranje was in touch with the students, they organized an escape system, and many students could return to the Netherlands before the war concluded.

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[47] Kollewijn, III:125.

[48] Cornelissen and Slettenhaar, 235.

[49] Source: Annette Richardson, "Resistance in Hengelo (O), The Netherlands During World War II," (MA diss. University of Alberta, 1987).

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[50] Gerald Newton, The Netherlands: an historical and cultural survey 1795-1977 (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1978), 154.

[51] The curfew at the beginning of the Occupation was midnight but over the course of the war this was gradually changed to 8:00 p.m.

[52] Peter Calvocoressi and Guy Wint, Total War (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1979), 266.

[53] Van der Leeuw, III: 331.

[54] Kollewijn, III:127.

Yet some students had resisted signing the loyalty declaration, and escaped forced transportation to Germany, and these were prevented from continuing their studies. Eventually, many non collaborationist professors decided to cease giving university classes altogether. After the April-May 1943 strike very few classes were held in the Netherlands, and these classes eventually ended entirely despite collaborationists attempts to keep the universities open. The Roman Catholic University of Nijmegen and the Free University of Amsterdam voluntarily closed their doors in response to the loyalty declaration; the first to do so. Groningen University's Law faculty refused to allow examinations. Those professors from the Amsterdam Municipal University who had not yet resigned forwarded their resignations. The Occupational Government response was to threaten personally the professors with execution if they failed to revoke their resignations. Some returned, but the threat induced many professors to sabotage Occupational Government attempts to maintain order in Dutch post secondary education. One sabotage method was to have students write their exams clandestinely; the restored Ministry of Education recognized each of these exams after the Netherlands was liberated.

The effect of all these measures by 1943 resulted in a very significant reduction in student enrolment. The percentage of post secondary attendance of the entire 18 to 25-age group dropped from 14.5 per cent in 1940 to 1.2 per cent in 1943 to zero per cent in 1944.[55] A comparison of enrolments in the universities and vocational post secondary institutes as seen in Table 5-Post Secondary Enrolment 1942-1946-[56] makes the virtual standstill of post secondary education quite evident. The total enrolment in seven universities in 1943 was 1,046 students while at the other post secondary institutions only 136 students were registered.[57] It is important that one understands that although these students were registered that did not mean that they attended classes. The reasons for these continued registrations vary. Nevertheless, the statistics speak for themselves. The drop in enrolment was also due to the more than 400 deaths of students from both the universities and the higher schools.[58] Many students who had dropped out were forced to do so by the Occupational Government because they were Jewish. The effects of the Occupation on post secondary education were quite clear.

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[55] Annual Report 1944, 1945, and 1946 78.

[56] SOURCE: Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

TABLE 5: POST SECONDARY ENROLMENT 1942-1946.

INSTITUTE				
UNIVERSITIES	1942/43	1943/44	1944/45	1945/46
LEIDEN				2,824
UTRECHT	2,506	350		4,518
GRONINGEN	1,233	107		1,634
AMSTERDAM	3,095	589		4,248
FREE AMSTERDAM	1,217		523	933
NIJMEGEN	568			613
TOTAL	8,619	1,046	523	14,551
VOCATIONAL				
DELFT	2,832			4,027
WAGENINGEN	701	136		1,136
ROTTERDAM	844			1,241
TILBURG	400		324	617
TOTAL	4,799	136	324	7,021
COMBINED TOTAL	**13,418**	**1,182**	**847**	**21,572**

C. CONCLUSION

From a physical viewpoint the universities and other buildings of the post secondary system, unlike the elementary and secondary institutions suffered very little; only the university of Nijmegen and the Agricultural School at Wageningen were destroyed by the Nazis. During the Battle of Arnhem, Wageningen received direct hits from bombs. By this time too, the Occupiers had removed a considerable amount of equipment from Wageningen's laboratories and transported it to Germany. However, the total Dutch losses were devastating not only physically but psychologically as well; the war had affected nearly everyone in Dutch society.[59] By the summer of 1944 the educational system had almost entirely collapsed in the Netherlands. The so-called Hunger Winter of 1944 during which thousands of Dutch people starved to death exacerbated the situation.[60]

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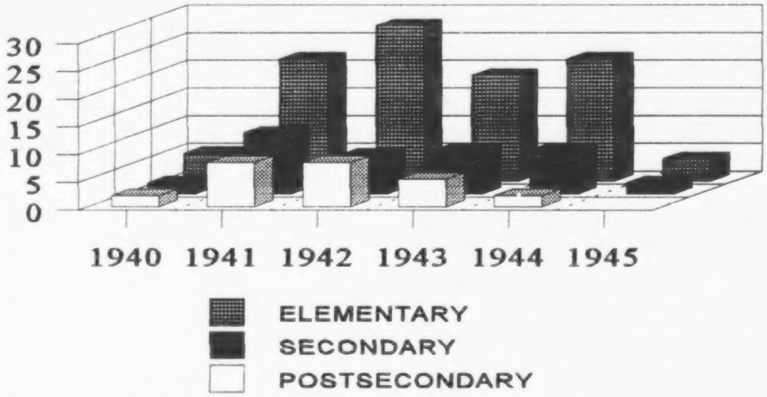
[58] Van der Leeuw, III:302.

To gauge the success of the Nazification attempt one can review the legislative changes, by way of Ordinances, which became more proliferous as the war dragged on. An overview of the attempted Nazification of the Dutch system became made evident only in the Annual Report for 1944, 1945, 1946.

CHART 35: NAZI DECREES

1940-1945



As Chart 35[61] suggests, the changes largely focused on the elementary and secondary levels. At the elementary level, beginning on 23 July 1940, a total of five decrees appeared in 1940. In 1941 the Nazi attempt to affect the Dutch education system was indicated with the issuance of 22 decrees. This escalated to 28 in 1942. However, only 19 decrees were issued in 1943, but this again increased in 1944 to 22. In 1945 four decrees were imposed.[62] The last decree was made on 12 February 1945, when the Nazis clearly knew the war was lost; this decree pertained to salary increases for teaching staff. The total number surely indicates that the Nazis used a consistent effort to impose their ideals on the Dutch education system. It is not too difficult to understand the determined struggle of the Dutch elementary educational community in the face of these decrees.

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[59] See Appendix L -Netherlands War Casualties and Victims- for the numbers of Dutch victims and casualties of World War II.

[60] See C. Banning "Food Shortage and Public Health, First Half of 1945," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 245 (May 1946): 93-110.

[61] All of the figures presented in the decree section are derived from the Annual Report 1944, 1945 and1946.

The secondary level figures were quite similar. Only two decrees were issued in 1940, but in 1941 the Occupiers declared 11 decrees. Only seven were given in 1942 while in 1943 and 1944 eight were declared respectively, but Ordinances decreased to two in 1945. At the post secondary level changes were implemented as early as 7 August 1940; only two more followed in 1940. Eight changes occurred in both 1941 and 1942: five were made in 1943 and two in 1944.[63] These Ordinances consisted of such matters as student finances, duration of programs, regulations regarding Jewish students, implementation of previous Verordnungen, replacing university and higher school instructors, and protection of the educational institutes. Only one of the Occupational Government imposed changes was retained after the war and it took the Dutch until 1948 to eliminate all the other Occupational legislation.

The parameters of this study preclude a comparative review of the war time experiences of other European countries, and no attempt will be made to do so. Yet it is important to note that the Dutch, from a population percentage proportionately lost the most Jews[64] and the struggle to deal with this phenomenon certainly could not have been easy. Losing youth, whether Jewish, Roman Catholic, Protestant or of any other faith is the dilemma; how to counter it is another. Each country has to decide how to retaliate against inhumane measures.

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[62] Annual Report 1944, 1945, and 1946 232-236.

[63] Ibid, 79-80.

[64] See Davidowicz and the various Appendices.

One might conclude that the Germans gained a material victory[65] at the price of a moral defeat: neither the elementary, secondary nor post secondary levels in the Dutch education system were Nazified and that alone, the fight itself, many Dutch strongly believed was the victory. The struggle as the Dutch saw it was ideological; the Dutch believed they had won. Dutch resistance to the enforcement of the loyalty oath, to discrimination of the Dutch Jews, to the compulsory labour element and to the imposition of National Socialist ideology certainly deserve praise. The accumulation of Ordinances ultimately proved detrimental to the system and the war generation certainly endured circumstances far outside the normal school experience. The role played by the post secondary education students is quite remarkable and deserves greater scrutiny. The refusal to succumb to the attempt at Nazification of their educational system may have been admirable. However, one might also conclude that the Dutch won very little, that the educational protest and resistance though incontestably courageous, was, in fact ineffective. There is also a paradox in the wartime situation. On one hand it is important to realize that the Occupying Government was at times a little afraid of the teachers who wished to fight for the freedom of their education system especially from an ideological perspective. The Occupational Government had originally intended to make all of the Dutch schools public, but they could scarcely carry out this program without consent of the teachers and instructors so their attempts were doomed to fail. Moreover, approximately 60 per cent of the system was composed of private schools over which the Germans had no control. And as has been indicated, the Occupational Government was not afraid to shoot students or send Dutch professors to concentration camps when they felt they had justification. Professors were ruthlessly attacked and many were liquidated simply because they would not follow the Nazi racial theory and infringements of traditional rights.[66] The previously mentioned small "victories" were indeed important to the Dutch, but they were ultimately largely insignificant. In their determined attempt to quell Nazification, the consequence was that education, no matter how inadvertently, was disrupted severely. One might also conclude that the war itself, rather than the ideological differences, contributed most to the collapse of the Dutch educational system. Undoubtedly the shortages, of transport, clothing, food and teaching tools had as great an impact on the educational system as the Nazi ideological war. Nevertheless, the fact remains that education in 1945 had come to a standstill. Had it remained in force it might have created an element of normalcy in the turbulent war period.

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[65] Throughout the war the Nazis had removed complete laboratories, libraries, artifacts and whatever was of value to them.

[66] Many people do not realize that the same oppression occurred in the German post secondary system.

With the joyous relief of liberation and the return of the Royal Family and the government came a time for renewal, a time to reconstruct. Life could begin anew. Education had been relegated to a secondary role in society during the war, now it could once again return to its primary function. Many people and various groups in the Netherlands were quite receptive to educational change. The following chapter will discuss the educational changes that occurred in the post war period.

CHAPTER V-POST WAR RENEWAL: 1945-1960

The educational system and the country as a whole was obviously faced with a task of enormous proportions after the cessation of hostilities. To expedite reconstruction the Dutch government, after the war ended, decided to reconstruct the educational system by reverting to the educational situation as it had been in 1940. The war years would be treated as an unfortunate intermezzo in the development of Dutch education. The Dutch expurgated the Nazi experience with surprising rapidity for they wanted no reminders. This clearly indicates that the Ministry and the government could act rapidly and decisively if it was in their interest. Early in the war the Nazis had renamed the Dutch Ministry of Education the Department of Education, Science and Cultural Protection, a name the Dutch abhorred. The post war government decided that once again there would be a Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences. Another step in the renewal process was to purify the Dutch education system and eliminate all Occupational Government decrees, teaching techniques, textbooks, and collaborationist administrators, teachers or Board members; this had been decided in London as early as 13 January 1944. The government in exile had implemented this policy to be effective as of 4 September 1944 when liberation was in sight. Then, when the whole country was liberated on 12 April 1945, a decision to expedite and quickly enforce this policy was implemented. Occupation decrees were placed into three categories: the A group which had never been enforced, the B group which had been implemented and the C group some of which were temporarily maintained[1]. On 7 May 1945 the Dutch government also reinstated Professor doctor G.A. van Poelje as State Secretary for the Ministry of Education and he was charged with rebuilding the Ministry. Van Poelje had been removed from his position by the Occupational Government. In 1945 the Drees-Schermerhorn cabinet was in control of the government. The socialist G.Van der Leeuw was Education Minister and former Education Minister Gerrit Bolkestein was his personal advisor. Education was fully restored as of 8 June 1945.

Despite these necessary administrative details the hesitation, the complexities, the extreme differentiation of schools and the inherent problems of Dutch educational policies became quite apparent in the post war period. The restructuring problems experienced by the Dutch were no doubt shared by other European countries, but the Dutch had their own way of dealing with the much needed educational changes; they hesitated and rather than change to a more progressive system they maintained their functionalist approach to education. This can in part be justified because the Dutch had to concentrate on rebuilding their country after the devastating effects of the war. In the educational sector some 315 schools had been destroyed completely and another 484 school had been destroyed partially;[2] consequently the Ministry deemed rebuilding the school facilities more important than changing the structure of the system. The severe paper shortage was addressed by the creation of a commission charged with rectifying this problem.[3] But nationally the focus after the war was on industrial development; educational change was not considered a priority. This is quite obvious from the first post war Annual Report which was not published until 1949, again because other things were more pressing.

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[1] Annual Report, 1944, 1945,and 1946 16.

With help from the Marshall Plan, life in the Netherlands improved significantly after the war. Noticeable technical improvements resulted in revival of the shipbuilding industry. Improved transportation methods as well as an increase in industrialization brought the Netherlands into the modern world and by the end of 1948 the 1939 levels of production had been reached. Unemployment had been a problem for many years in Dutch society.[4] But after the war it declined drastically: in June 1945 the unemployment figure was 112,600, by September 1945 it decreased to 38,000 and in June 1947 it was

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[2] Source: Ibid, 50. Elementary education schools physically suffered the most severe damage. This level lost 293 schools. Ten vocational schools were destroyed, secondary school losses stood at 12. Damages were incurred at 359 elementary schools, 80 vocational schools and 45 secondary schools.

[3] The Annual Report 1944, 45, and 46 devotes several pages to the Ministry's attempts to solve this dilemma.

[4] In 1931 unemployment figures stood at 138,000 but this nearly doubled to 271,000 in 1932. In 1933 unemployment rose to 322,000 and in 1934 it stood at 332,000. A significant increase in 1935 to 384,000 was exacerbated in 1936 to 414,000 but the figures decrease in 1937 to 368,000 and in 1938 to 300,000. Despite the decrease it was nevertheless a more than 200 per cent increase from the first year of the decade. Source: Richardson, 176.

21,600.[5] As a result the mass pauperization that had been so prevalent during the 19th century had practically disappeared. Multinational enterprises such as Philips expanded in the post war period and would play a significant role in the future global economy.

A. ANNUAL REPORT 1944, 1945 AND 1946

The Annual Report 1944, 1945, and 1946[6] contained some interesting facts. Education Minister professor doctor[7] F. J. Th. Rutten, in the introduction of the Annual Report, indicated that it had taken four years to compile and write because reconstructing the necessary information was very time consuming.[8] The Nazis were well known for keeping scrupulously efficient records, but these largely had been destroyed.[9] Consequently reconstructing the war experience proved difficult, much more intensive than originally thought but above all it proved time consuming. Rutten also realized the importance of this Report because it would in the future be considered a historical document.[10] The Dutch, not surprisingly, had a strong dislike for the Nazis. Rutten was no exception and clearly not afraid to display his anti-Nazi bias in the Annual Report. In an emotional denunciation Rutten depicted what he believed had been a struggle of epic proportions and almost proudly wrote about the Dutch educational community's wartime "tenacious resistance against the superior unscrupulous enemy and the quest of righteous law and self determination."[11]

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[5] Jac.S. Hoek, Politieke geschiedenis van Nederland: Oorlog en herstel [Political history of the Netherlands: War and Reconstruction] (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1970), 248.

[6] The Annual Report 1943 that was published in 1946 is not nearly as informative.

[7] This is the Dutch title accorded to those who have reached professorial status.

[8] There is so much information in this report that it warrants its own historian.

[9] Some of the Charts and Tables throughout this study have the 1940 to1945 information omitted because it is not available, the records were lost.

[10] Having read all the Annual Reports which tend to be quite factual and dry, it is safe to say that this is the most interesting.

[11] Annual Report 1944, 1945, and 1946 9. This type of rhetoric was obvious in the work of many Dutch authors, historians included, especially in the May 1946 issue of Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

The Annual Report also related the work that had been conducted by the Ministry of Education in exile in London during the war years. Some of the initiatives undertaken warrant attention. A Dutch language school had been established in London during the war along with other schools that offered bookkeeping and stenographic studies. Financial help for particular students was arranged through The British Council which financially sponsored the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education under the auspices of British Education Minister R. A. Butler. This Conference resulted in the establishment of the United Nations Organisation of Education. The Dutch government in exile also took the initiative to make English the international language with the proviso that it be taught equally alongside the vernacular. In the Netherlands in future, English language instruction was to begin the last two years of elementary school. But the Dutch also received American financial aid. In the post war period several foundations were established: The Netherlands-America Foundation which financed bursaries; The International University Foundation which raised funds for rebuilding the libraries and laboratories in the Dutch universities; The Netherlands University League, a union or association of Dutch academic instructors at American universities who offered to help rebuild Dutch education, and the Rockefeller Foundation which gave a one-time donation of the financial amount the government requested.[12]

The Annual Report also indicated that the British Education Minister R.A. Butler influenced the WVOO for he had recommended, in 1943, that it was the responsibility of the educational community:

> to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide all means of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are. [13]

The changed orientation by some members of the Dutch educational community to focus on children and students rather than on the schools and curriculum centred was no doubt due to Butler's interest in children.

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[12] The Annual Report did not state the financial amounts.

[13] Annual Report 1944, 1945, and 1946 45.

B. ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

It quickly became evident to the Dutch educational community in the post war years that their system was in a state of transition; they considered the war years an intermezzo between their traditional educational system and the renewed system that surely was around the corner. In the Netherlands the educational community was ready to face the new world order. Educational reform, despite the post war circumstances, was demanded by numerous groups. A growing crescendo of voices and groups had increasingly become disenchanted with the chaotic system.

1)Workgroup of the Association for Education

Among these was the, Werkgemeenschap tot Vernieuwing van Opvoeding en Onderwijs, Workgroup of the Association for Education, WVOO, under the leadership of Cornelis Boeke,[14] which indicated its' displeasure with the antiquated system through its 10 July 1945 Memorandum to the Minister of Education.[15] The WVOO indicated strong dissatisfaction with the heavily differentiated system which it deemed redundant, completely unnecessary and thoroughly detrimental. Also, the WVOO propounded the idea that religious, aesthetics, character, intellectual and physical education all needed to be included in the students' educational development. A more individual approach according to students' intellectual or practical aptitude was recommended so that students could feel more comfortable while in the system. Less authoritative and more spontaneous and natural expression was deemed beneficial for each age group. The WVOO thought this in turn would result in a greater desire to learn the curriculum. Improved teaching methods and more favourable interaction between teachers and students also were recommended. The most important element of the WVOO Memorandum was that it recommended the structure of the system be amended as follows: pre school would consist of three to seven year olds in a play school curriculum, elementary education up to age 12 with a program of individual as well as group work which would develop independence and self-esteem. Secondary education for two groups would be divided as follows: the first half of secondary education would be for 12 to 15 year olds which would result in a diploma and serve as the basis for further academic or trade study with an emphasis on the students' talents for future specialization. The second half of secondary education for 15 to 18 year olds would be divided into differentiated programs such as classics, arts, sciences, mathematics, education, business economics, civics and for girls child care and other common female vocations. Implementation of this very simplistic structure as illustrated in Chart 36 would have saved the Dutch much time and work. Trade or vocational schools would be preceded by either elementary school or the second category of secondary schools, and be taught according to a student's interests. Post secondary education concerned professional university faculties such as law, theology, engineering or medicine.

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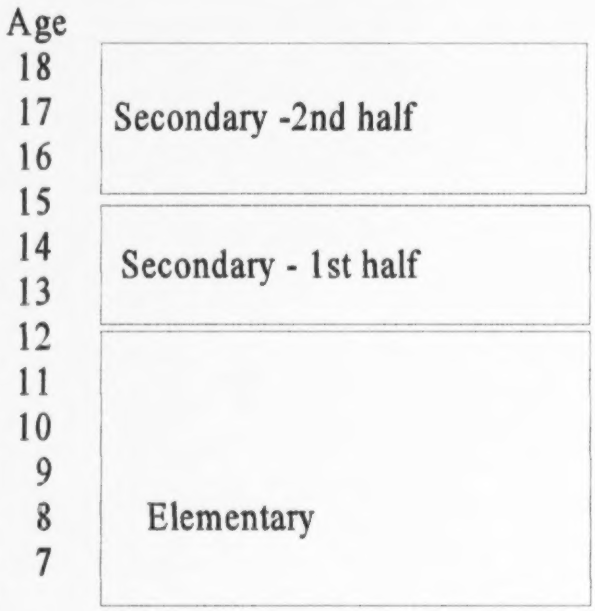
[14] Dr. P.H.Schroder was Secretary to the WVOO Commission.

[15] This group had been established in 1934 as the Dutch sector of the New Education Fellowship. At their August 1945 conference it was decided to create a Renewal Council for Education. The task of this Council was to report on education.

CHART 36: WVOO STRUCTURE



In sum, this Memorandum lamented the inadequate emphasis on character and social development. Conversely, the inherent intellectual overloading and the deficiency in students' reasoning ability required an efficient and harmonious method of promoting students to the next educational level, according to the WVOO Memorandum. The scanty attention paid to handicrafts, the strong need for selection based strictly on skills, the need for educational legislation for secondary education and things such as homework, punishment, textbooks and promotions for students and the low teacher salaries were all WVOO concerns. The Memorandum obviously indicated that severe problems existed within the system which required renewal beginning at the lowest level. The WVOO believed that the adoption of their recommendations would result in a more efficient and less costly and more progressive method of integrating students into Dutch society. It must be noted that the WVOO Memorandum also used some of the ideas propounded earlier, for example, the 1829 Gobbelschroy Commission and Bos' ideas of 1898.

2. The Bolkestein Scheme

The Dutch difficulty with accepting educational change becomes quite evident with the lack of enthusiasm for the various conclusions and suggestions of commissions, individual recommendations, legislative attempts and Reports mentioned in Chapter II. No one listened to the voices in the wilderness. To substantiate this point several other reports written in the post war period with restructuring as an objective need to be examined. The Annual Report 1944, 1945, and 1946 contains a section on a report by former Education Minister Dr. Gerrit Bolkestein,[16] who suggested that structural changes were essential in the Dutch education system. This Report, Schema van de organisatie van het onderwijs or Bolkestein Scheme as it came to be known,originally had been written in 1939 but the war intervened so the Scheme was immediately made redundant. But it was finally published in 1946 and included in the Annual Report 1950. The Bolkestein Scheme was distinctly inspired by the ideals of the 1910 Unification Commission. Bolkestein, as a former education minister, realized more so than most people, that a complete overhaul was necessary to modernize the Dutch educational system. He promoted structural changes in elementary and secondary education: pre school, he argued, should not be mandated by a specific beginning age because it was a psychological issue and that making the school beginning age compulsory was not something that he deemed especially necessary. He argued that the government in future should regulate pre school teachers' training and that a decent salary should be offered; this did in fact occur but not until the passage of the 1955 Pre Elementary School Act. His concept of pre school was a program of two years duration in which the second year would actually be the first year of elementary school.

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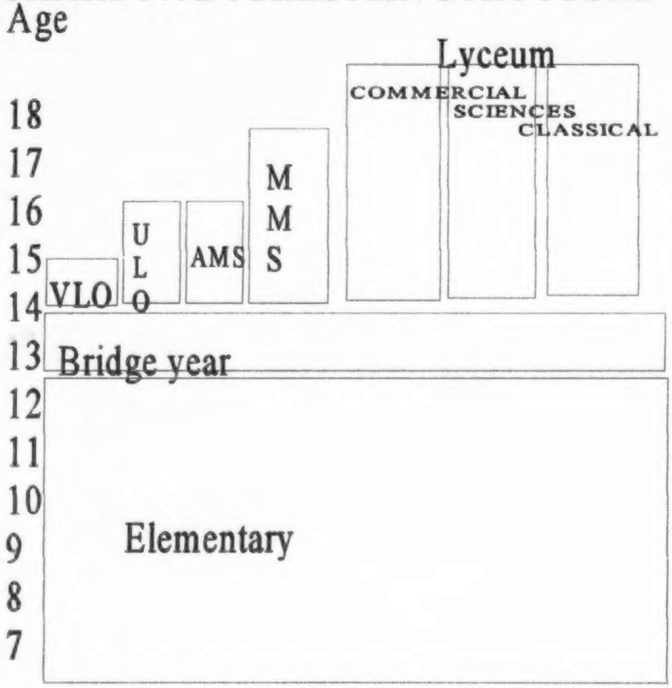
[16] Bolkestein had been an inspector of secondary education from 1917 to 1936 and became Minister of Education in 1939, a position he retained until 1945. He earned great respect from a wide range of people. However he had his detractors.

Bolkestein noted that elementary education in 1946 consisted of five separate categories as noted in Chart 1 in Chapter II. At the lowest level were general elementary education, advanced elementary education, preparatory elementary education, extended elementary education and special elementary education. He urged that these be combined into one five year program. Bolkestein used a before and after scenario to make his case. He pointed out that the secondary education system in 1946 also was heavily categorized with the six year lyceum, the four year general secondary, the five year secondary girls school, the three and five year HBS and commercial evening schools, the four year evening lyceum and the four year teacher training schools. The first three were preceded by the first three categories listed under elementary education in the previous sentence. Bolkestein noted that these were basically the same programs - preparation for academic education - and that a bridge or transition year, to promote a common starting off point, should be implemented. Bolkestein's revolutionary idea of a bridge year was reminiscent of earlier bridge year suggestions, but a step toward the comprehensive model and intended to make the transition from the elementary to the secondary program easier for the students. It would also ensure some element of horizontal streaming as opposed to the traditional vertical pattern. Lessons totalling 30 hours per week would be the program in the bridge year. The curriculum would include the Dutch, English, and French languages, geography, mathematics and algebra, art and drawing, biology, history, physical education, music and song, handicrafts, and Bible

CHART 37: BOLKESTEIN STRUCTURE



study which in keeping with the principle of denominational equality would not be compulsory.[17]

As seen in Chart 37,[18] Bolkestein's restructuring began at the lowest educational level. He recommended a five year elementary program, for ages seven to 12. This was to be followed by a choice of schools such as a two year preparatory secondary program voortgezet lager onderwijs VLO, elementary education, which had a practical orientation or a four year extended elementary program, uitgebreid lager onderwijs, ULO, extended elementary education. At the senior secondary level Bolkestein recommended a four year general theoretical secondary program, algemeen lager onderwijs, AMS, general elementary education and a theoretically oriented five year secondary program for girls, middelbaar onderwijs voor meisjes, MMS, secondary education for girls.[19] A theoretical or academic orientation would also be given at the six year secondary program at the lyceum which would have three categories: classical, commercial and sciences. Ultimately the secondary system would be split into theoretical orientation and practical applications.

However, not everyone agreed with the Bolkestein Scheme; its recommendations were not accepted and it had very little immediate influence in the educational community. In 1946, Education Minister G.Van der Leeuw downplayed the Scheme as was the case with his successor, Education Minister J.J.Gielen.

Despite the reconstruction problems there was some recognition by members of parliament that massive educational change leading to a complete overhaul was imperative. The unexpected post war expansion of the system was deemed sufficient reason to initiate legislative changes. The Second Chamber on 2 December 1949 approved a motion by J. Peters (PvdA) and H. Van Sleen (KVP) that some type of cohesion be planned for the entire educational system. To support their reasoning they pointed out some problems with the system which had led to difficulties. For example, they noted that ULO was regulated through the 1920 Elementary Act and elementary vocational educational through the Vocational Act of 1919, the HBS through the 1863 Secondary Education Act and the gymnasium through the 1876 Higher Education Act.[20] Something had to be done; they deemed the post war era which was a time of renewal to be as good a time as any. That was the premise for commencing this study with the chapter on the system as it was in the post war period.

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[17] Annual Report 1944,1945, and 1946 36-45.

[18] Source: Ibid.

[19] This would not be a change as MMS schools had been in the system since 1867.

3. The Rutten Note

In the Annual Report1950, Minister F. J. Th. Rutten explained that in the future the Report would once again appear annually and that the reconstructive phase was well underway. He wrote that new methodology and modern ideas would be implemented and the educational system would attempt to modernize. The school leaving age, which in a 1942 decree had been raised one year by the Nazis, was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1950 and called for eight compulsory school years.A heavy emphasis on cultural life within the context of international relations had become significant to the Dutch educational community in 1950 so restructuring was again placed in abeyance. On 2 August 1950 an Act was passed concerning subsidization of the secondary and post-secondary system; this was presented in detail in the Report. Also of interest in this Report was the fact that 13 new secondary schools had been established. Enrolment, as compared to 1949/50, fluctuated according to the category of the schools.

The Annual Report 1951[21] included Rutten's educational ideas which were first published 10 July 1951. Rutten discussed the three main problems he believed to be inherent in the Dutch education system. Firstly, the relatively autonomous schools were not connected in any way; secondly, education in the Netherlands was curriculum rather than student centred, and thirdly, students needed harmonious development rather than to be subjected to the confusing system which they had to endure. Rutten also delivered two draft bills in 1952, one for pre school, elementary and post secondary education and another for general education. Education Plan Rutten, *Nota betreffenden onderwijsvoorzieningen,*[22]is better known as Nota Rutten but in English is better understood as the Rutten Note. In this Note, Rutten had suggested that all the categories and programs for the secondary age group be combined into one level. Chart 38 [23] indicates the changes that Rutten envisioned for restructuring Dutch education. Rutten envisaged the following: pre school for ages three to seven, elementary school which would be named *basisschool* [Basic school] consisting of a six year program. Secondary education would commence with a variety of programs: a two year program, *eenvoudig voortgezet onderwijs*, EVO, a two year lower technical school, *lagere technische school*, LTS, and a school for lower domestic sciences, *lager huishoudonderwijs*, LHO. In addition preparatory general education with a theoretical orientation would be given at a four year general secondary school, AMS, a five year secondary girl's school, MMS and institutes which had a six year program for preparatory post-secondary education such as gymnasia, HBS and lyceum. In the Dutch historical education community this became known as the First Education Note.

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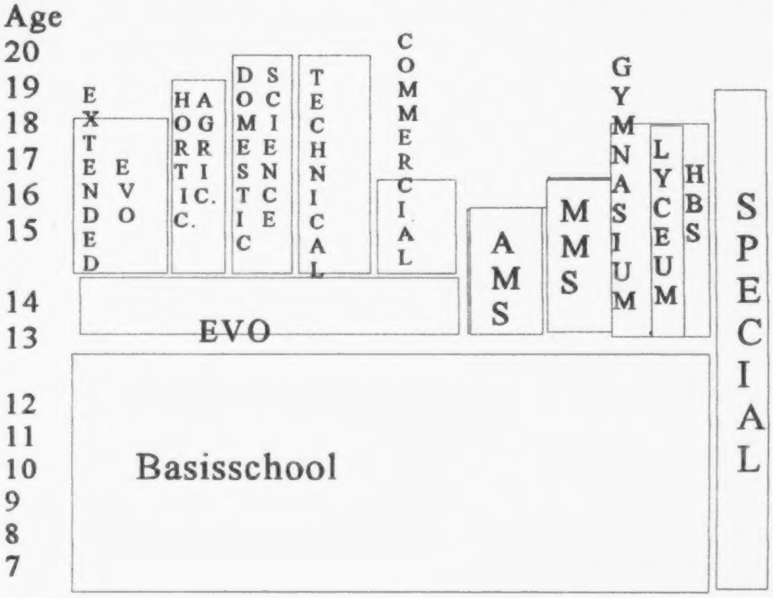
[20] See Appendix M - Educational Legislation to 1970.

[21] The Annual Report 1951 indicated that a Research department had been established on 1 January 1950 within the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences.

CHART 38: RUTTEN PLAN STRUCTURE



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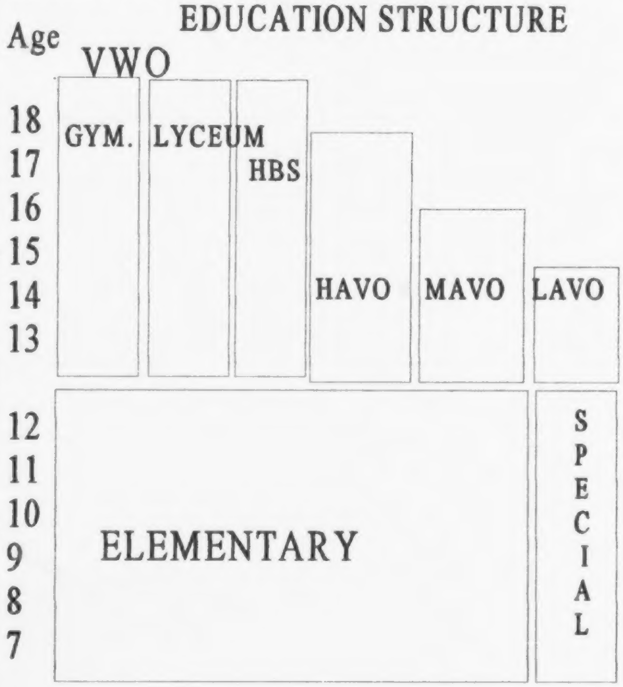
[22] *Annual Report 1952* 11-18.

[23] Source: Ibid.

4. The Commission of Education

Nota Rutten was not acceptable to the government yet some of its ideals would become kernels for future changes. The permanent Commission of Education, Arts and Sciences of the Second Chamber replied to the Nota Rutten on 8 December 1953. The Commission noted the lack of administrative and financial aspects in Rutten's plan and instead favoured a system with greater parental involvement, and an increase in the numbers of school organizations which exacerbated rather than discouraged the functionalism in the system. The Commission also indicated where it differed structurally from Nota Rutten. The structure as seen by the Commission would borrow the main headings of Rutten's plan: pre school, basis education (elementary), secondary education and post-secondary or academic (scientific) education. Pre school would consist of one year while the six year elementary level would be divided into general and special education programs, with the intention that completion of the program would have occurred by age 13. Senior secondary education would still be differentiated into three categories: the gymnasium, HBS, and lyceum would be the higher academic secondary education, voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs, VWO. The general secondary program would be divided into higher general secondary education, hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs, HAVO, and higher technical or vocational secondary education. Lower secondary education would be differentiated into secondary general preparatory secondary education, middelbaar algemeen voortgezet onderwijs, MAVO, which had been the former ULO, and secondary vocational education which constituted extended lower

CHART 39: COMMISSION OF EDUCATION STRUCTURE



handicraft or trade schools and commercial evening schools. Lower secondary education, lager algemeen voortgezet onderwijs, LAVO, also would be divided; one group attending the seventh and eighth school years and lower vocational education would be given at the lower technical and lower domestic science schools. Chart 39 illustrates the Commission's plans for the structure of Dutch education. This was the structure, aside from the bridge year, that was adopted as the Mammoth Act.

Elementary, extended and secondary would replace elementary, secondary and higher levels. This plan was quite well received, no doubt because it was somewhat more simple than the previous structures, and became known as the Second Education Nota. The idea that several programs could be offered in one school was finally accepted in Dutch educational circles.

C. CRITICISMS OF DUTCH EDUCATION

The government was not the only sector of Dutch society that concerned itself with the attempt at renewing the educational system. The educational literature that appeared in the mid-1950s was highly critical of the Dutch system but generally offered few solutions.[24] Many people realized that the educational segment of society had a huge task on its hands. It might have been better, some argued to begin anew. For example, E. Velema pointed out that education had a difficult task because the education process in the school takes place within a society context in a societal environment and at a specific time. He argued that the ties of society to education and vice versa had to be taken into account and analysed. This he believed would be beneficial for all concerned.[25] Only then would the benefits of education be appreciated. Helena Stellwag, mentioned earlier in this study, discussed the difficulties of implementing educational change in the Netherlands. For example, because Dutch education has an academic character and an international orientation, she pointed out that 20 per cent of all students failed, had to repeat a year or were placed in schools lower on the academic scale; consequently there was a high drop out rate and 45 per cent did not write their final examination.[26] This very unsound practice was quite expensive and detrimental, not only for educators but for students and their families as well. Students were allowed three attempts (they could fail twice but were removed from their particular school category if they failed a third time) to complete a year's requirements. Thus there was more often than not a three year age range attending the same classes. The Dutch functionalist penchant for categorization, for keeping the same age group in the same class, in this case was awry; oddly enough this has been a continuous problem in Dutch education and the educrats seemed unable to rectify the situation.[27] This author has seen first-hand the emotional toll this needless, inefficient practise has on both students and families.[28] Stellwag also wrote that improvements to date did not always achieve the expectations nor was a transformation of educational ideals necessarily made into concrete practice.[29] She believed that the structural complications ultimately hindered the Dutch educational system. Simultaneously she convincingly argued that Dutch educators found it very difficult to change because of their fundamental conservative traditions.

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[24] Human nature generally finds it easy to criticize. However, criticizing is not an art, resolving problems is much more fruitful.

[25] E. Velema, "Over de verhouding van paedagogiek en sociologie," [About the relationship of pedagogy and sociologie] Paedagogische Studiën 32 (1955): 340.

The April 1956 edition of The New Era placed its emphasis on Dutch education and the difficulties it faced in modernizing. While critical,[30] the articles were also somewhat apologetic about the antiquated system. As noted in Chapter II in the Netherlands the yin and yang process which results in a paradox, has historically governed Dutch society. The concomitant strongly conservative and progressive tendencies are continuously at play and create very divisive tension in the system. J.A. Lauwerys stated it very succinctly and was almost prophetic when he wrote:

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[26] Stellwag, 65. See also Appendix E - Social Pedagogical Students/Final Certificates 1938-1958 - for an indication of the low percentage of completion rates.

[27] A credit for each course is the answer to this predicament but the Dutch educational community before the 1980s could not have visualized this idea in their system.

[28] In one informal discussion this author was told about a student who had been in a program for three years, having failed twice, and only passed the third time because she had finally agreed to have an instructor "guide" her. This student was so emotionally overwrought while awaiting her exam results that she was ready to quit school permanently if she had not passed. (She never returned to pursue a higher level). Yet another student was so nervous, having failed her first year and so frightened of failing a second time, knowing she had performed miserably on her exams in some courses that she had difficulty sleeping and could scarcely keep her emotions in check. Of course her friends and family suffered along with her and the tension was indescribable. This is unusually cruel and totally unnecessary. Some parents, with rigid and rather conservative worldviews and unenlightened about modern educational policies, however, view this as character building.

[29] Stellwag, 54.

> ...the link which should unite and join together has become a source of dissension which weakens the whole body politic. Out of the acceptance of what is desirable and just, as a right principle of general policy, comes trouble and weakness. [31]

As noted throughout this study, since 1801 the government has advocated public education while Protestant Christians and Roman Catholics believe that religion is an essential part of education, yet another secular group is neutral or private. This is functionalism at its zenith. It is true that the social system needs control but human nature intervenes and liberal ideas struggle with conservative reality, this is where the Dutch educational paradox emerges. As Dodde has indicated in a number of his studies, educational struggles have existed in the Netherlands since the inception of the school system and thus should not be considered unusual but part of the development of Dutch education. Antagonism and internecine jealousies among the various societal groups was evident despite the fact that Dutch education is legally and financially egalitarian. The religious groups are intimately tied to political parties and these contribute to the tensions that permeate Dutch society. Also, one must appreciate that Dutch education is a reflection of the entire cultural and social complex which emerges from Dutch history as well as their reaction to the climatic and geographical challenges they face.[32] But it can be argued this is the case with any system, every country has to confront and learn to live with its topography and climate and its society. Yet few systems, not even the Germans, are as heavily differentiated or as categorized as the Dutch system has been traditionally. This can also be attributed to the inherent conservative and stubborn nature of the Dutch as a people. Being stubborn is not as negative a quality as some people might think, but if one is stubborn due to anxiety or fear of change then it can and will create problems.

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[30] Most of the material consulted for this study, Dutch academics included, is quite critical of the system.

[31] Lauwerys, 96.

[32] Ibid, 95.

The fixation on the old system, the functionalism and compartmentalizing of people into religious, political and socio-economic classes through the various educational levels is quite evident in an article written by Former Minister of Education Rutten in the April 1956 issue of New Era concerning the multiplicity of educational possibilities which had been accorded to Dutch individuals by custom, by tradition and by legislation. He stated, for example, that in the Netherlands the industrial worker was taught well:

> The apprentices, the future workers, are being educated unswervingly as mentally healthy people. The boy grows there into a young man who can cope with his work, who has learnt to co-operate, who understands his contribution, his status in society, -and upon this, to a large extent depends his zest for work. In an obedient and at the same time frank relation to his masters he learns to understand the necessity of authority and to accept it.[33]

This condescending passage illustrates the zenith of functionalism; it is difficult to believe that a Minister of Education in a country that purports to be progressive wrote much less thought like this. Yet later in the same article he wrote that in the Netherlands the "fetters in which education has been bound gall too tightly."[34] It seemed that he neither saw the inconsistency in his article nor the true state of Dutch education.

This is not to say that everyone agreed with Rutten's approach. Like any other country it would be a mistake to believe the Netherlands is monolithic in its education system. Some people indeed disagreed with the functionalist approach. For example in the same issue D.Q.R. Mulock Houwer wrote that he believed too "strong a differentiation leads to an artificial society and to too much labelling, which hinders adaptation to normal life."[35] Vernon Mallinson, while not actually castigating the functionalist approach, nevertheless indicated that post war planning in the Netherlands was extremely rigid and conservative and that the religious, political, and municipal rivalries definitely and detrimentally contributed to the difficulties. Mallinson argues that one problem was that "the people, traditionally-minded, are not readily going to exchange the familiar and the tried for the unfamiliar and the problematical." [36] But he was a voice in the wilderness. Another realistic voice, N. Perquin, stated that:

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[33] F. J. Th. Rutten, "Constructive Education and Mental Health," The New Era (April 1956): 98.

[34] Ibid.

> We have been pushed, without realizing it at first, into a narrow, dead end street, and in order to get out of it we have built ever narrower side-streets, which in their turn have not given us room enough, so that once again we have had to force a break-through.[37]

Perquin did not indicate who did the pushing nor who forced the break-through. Nevertheless, he argued that after the war and because of the war, the Dutch were at a crucial turning point in their educational development and educational reform was the key to all the problems. Like Rutten before him he also called for child-centred rather than curriculum centred education. J.G.L.Ackermans, in "Education in Transition" argued that since 1945 Dutch education had been in a state of transition and that the tendency to renewal of education occurred only after the war. He too realized that the stagnant system required change, and insisted that there were a few people ahead of their time who tried to make educational changes.[38] He believed that these people and their ideas needed to be considered; this has been pointed out in the previous chapter. Another interesting point is the analogy by a Dutch professor of Pedagogy who said that the "educational legislation in our country is like frying eggs. By the time the eggs get in the frying pan there is no fuel left."[39] Perhaps Dr. E.M. Buter depicted the post war educational system best when he described it as "a lovely chaos" and confirmed this author's argument that the Netherlands certainly lagged behind other countries in educational change.[40]

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[35] D.Q.R. Mulock Houwer, "The Residential Care of Children in Difficulty," The New Era (April 1956): 116.

[36] Vernon Mallinson, "Education in Holland Today," The Journal of Education (October 1954): 456.

[37] N. Perquin, "School, Man and Society," The New Era (April 1956): 99. In 1956 Perquin was the Director of Hoogveld Institute at Nijmegen.

[38] These people and groups will be discussed in Chapter VI.

The abortive proposed educational Notes and Reports and Bills roused those anxious to make positive changes. Consequently, the government to its credit tried a new tactic to avoid the legislative inertia. Rather than trying to pass a bill, the government tried a new approach by issuing draft bills which could be discussed at length in parliament. This seemed to work quite well for educational legislation was passed, only it did not pertain to the secondary sector. The Annual Report 1955 (which was not published until 1958) indicated that educational restructuring had become a priority. In December 1955 The Pre Primary Education Act, a level of the system which previously had not been regulated by law, was passed and dealt with children aged four to six. This Act provided independent inspection of pre schools by one Head Inspectress, 24 Inspectresses and two male Inspectors and one Inspectress who was responsible for training of Infant School teachers including headmistresses.[41]

D. THE ENTRANCE OF MINISTER CALS: ROAD TO THE MAMMOTH ACT

Education Minister Rutten was replaced by Joseph M.L.Th.Cals, (KVP), an ambitious workaholic who was the youngest ever Education Minister.[42] In

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[39] J. Jonges, "Prospects of Reform in Dutch Education," The New Era (April 1956): 109.

[40] Buter, 115.

[41] Dutch School System 19.

[42] Cals was the son of an inspector of education. He had ambitions to become a priest but instead became a lawyer and received his degree from Nijmegen University in 1935. During World War II he taught at Roermond, and was active in the resistance movement. He was also a member of the Nijmegen municipal council. He established a KVP branch in

1954 the Technical Note and the Rutten Nota were debated within the Ministry. A reply to Rutten's Note and the Technical Note by Cals and his State Secretary Mrs. dr. A de Waal was largely derived from the original Rutten Note but included some elements of the recommendations presented by the 1910 Unification Commission Report. This reply became known as the Second Note Tweede Nota. It was brought to the Second Chamber on 18 February 1955 where Cals argued that the Technical Nota was short term whereas the Nota Rutten proved to be long term.[43]

By 1960 The Ministry of Education structure had changed considerably from its inception. An Inspector General of Education headed the inspectorate,[44] three Counsellers were in general service, various department heads and Heads of Sub-departments and Bureaus followed by gradations of civil servants. As indicated in Appendix D- Ministry of Education Structure 1964- the Ministry had four main departments. The Department of Higher Education and Sciences administered the universities and the higher schools- the post secondary level schooling. The Department of Preparatory Higher and Secondary Education governed grammmar schools, modern grammar schools, lyceums, secondary and commercial day and evening schools. The Technical and Vocational Education

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Nijmegen and became a member of the Second Chamber in the 1948 election. Cals was actively involved in the Catholic Youth Organization.He served as prime minister for 18 months after the 1966 election. The coalition cabinet consisted of six KVP, five PvdA, and 3 ARP members. Cals' government fell when it lost support from the PvdA.

[43] There are many more dates and legal wranglings involved but these are only necessary for legal documents or a very specifically detailed treatment of the road to educational reform. For our purposes the concise treatment herein is deemed sufficient. See Verlinden, 10-13.

[44] In 1960 the Inspectorate had seven Head Inspectors, 162 Inspectors, Regional Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors and 39 Head Advisors and Advisors. Also, 32 were charged with supervising physical education (two inspectors, two head advisors, 28 advisors) while three (one Head Inspector and two Inspectors) were responsible for school buildings in the primary education branch. Of this Inspection Staff, 26 covered pre schools, 112 were with elementary education, four with specialized primary education, four with training of pre school and elementary teachers, 16 with the preparatory higher secondary school, 39 in the technical and vocational sector and one in social pedagogical education. One inspector covered music education and another training of trades people. Dutch School System 13-14.

Department governed technical and vocational education and training. The Elementary Education Department held responsibility for all the categories of elementary education, including special elementary education and teacher training. Pre school education and enforcement of the Compulsory Education Act also was the responsibility of the department. Social Pedagogical Education was considered a sub department. Other smaller departments supplemented these large administrative units.

As noted throughout this study, the Education Ministry was not accountable for all forms of education in the Netherlands in 1960. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was reponsible for agricultural university education and all branches of secondary and elementary agricultural and horticultural education. This Ministry also had its own Inspectorate of 12 Inspectors and 18 Advisors. Rural domestic education was controlled by the Technical and Vocation Department of the Education Ministry. Military education was under the aegis of the Ministry of Defense and education in prisons and reformatories was the responsibility of the Ministry of Justice. Obviously confusion and chaos reigned everywhere in the educational system.

Another interesting factor was that some children were not covered by the Compulsory Education Act because it distinguished between schooling and home education. Only about 60 children in 1957 fitted into this category.[45] This segment of the student population covered those who had no permanent residence, for example, children of barge crews. Quite adequate arrangements were made to facilitate the education of these children; homework was assigned at one school and delivered to and marked at another school along the barge's journey. Yet another group was outside the jurisdiction of the Compulsory Act because some parents objected to the location of a school more than three miles from their home. Students who had a medical note did not need to adhere to the Compulsory Act but it meant that the student had to be enrolled in one of the special schools mentioned in Chapter II.

The Ministry of Education Annual Report 1960 focused on the problems created by the tremendous population increase and its inability to deal effectively with the required changes. In 1960 five bills were introduced which concerned general-physical education and sports, a school building program, school space for secondary education students and future student loans, and training for pre school teachers. The population increase, or baby boom, resulted in a severe space shortage for first year secondary education students. The Ministry had to pay special attention to the 1288 schools which needed singular regulations to place students.[46] But even in 1960 the Dutch still did not consider the concept of placing all of the secondary student population into one category. Vocational education at this time was expanding almost uncontrollably. The Annual Report 1960 also listed new regulations concerning final or leaving exams for HBS, departments A & B, the MMS, and commercial day and evening schools. State and leaving exams for gymnasium and state exams were also regulated.[47]

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[45] Ibid, 40.

Another problem was that the funding allocated to the capital budget for building schools was insufficient. If financial support was not drastically increased, school buildings could barely be maintained, and indeed they quickly deteriorated. It soon became apparent that the fl226,000,000 allocated to the building program in 1959 was totally inadequate, and as a result the 1960 allocation increased to fl255,000,000.[48] Of this amount fl69,000,000 was accorded to higher education, secondary was allocated only fl34,700,000, the elementary level received fl68,100,000, vocational education received fl55,400,000, pre elementary schools received fl18,100,000, while agricultural schools secured fl5,700,000 and teacher training was given fl3,700,000.[49] The total allocation would increase in 1961 to fl275,000,000.[50] To alleviate the severe teacher shortage the ministry sent letters to 17,000 parents of students by way of 36,000 letters, in other words to those writing leaving exams, urging the students to go into teaching as an occupation.[51] National radio broadcasts held five on air recruitment drives. Scholarship applications for 1959/60 stood at 39,425 of which 55 per cent or 21,784 were granted.[52] Of the total figure 68.8 per cent went to higher education, 15.1 per cent to vhmo, higher technical schools, and other secondary schools, 12.5 per cent went to education students, pre school teachers received four per cent, while 1.2 per cent was allocated to art school students.[53] The remainder was for special circumstance students from the Netherlands Antilles or Surinam. The Commission for Scholarships that had administered the program was disbanded on 17 February 1960.

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[46] Annual Report 1960 9.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid, 12.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

So Dutch education as late as the 1960s was obviously grounded in a 19th century worldview. It had been created in harmony with the understanding of society at that time, "but compartmentalised in accordance with the prevailing class structure: the Gymnasium (grammar school) for the educated class, the hogere [sic] burgerscholen [sic] for the middle classes, and the elementary school for the remainder."[54] The strings emanating from political, social and economic elements of society were pulling ever tighter on the educational community. Every attempt to make positive changes toward a more cohesive system had been thwarted due to either political problems or economic fluctuations since the Unification Commission's Report in 1910. Repeated failures by the political parties in Parliament to implement reform had worn the educational community down yet the struggle continued. With the division of Dutch education into four categories as suggested in Nota Rutten, Cals agreed that the Agriculture and Fisheries Minister should maintain responsibility for the agricultural elements of vocational education. The latter agreed to work with Cals and indicated what his Ministry wanted in future legislation.

When the Second Nota finally was accepted in 1955 the Dutch eagerly looked forward to the innumerable changes that would make some sense of the "lovely chaos" that posed as an educational system. Finally, on 12 July 1962 the Secondary Education Act passed in the Second Chamber with 100 votes for and

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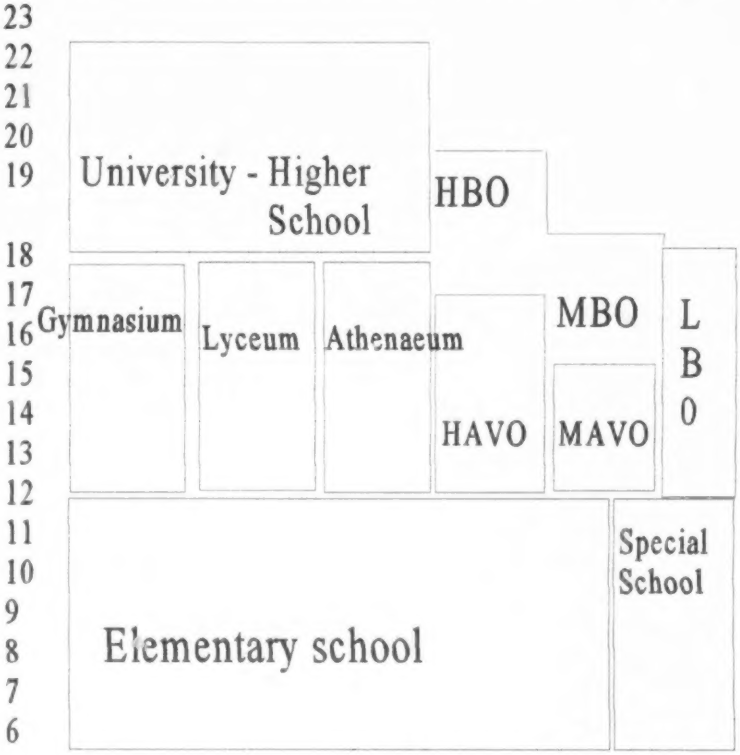
[52] Ibid, 14.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Leon van Gelder, "The Bridge-Year: an aid to adaptation from elementary to secondary education in the Netherlands." International Review of Education (6 Dec. 1960): 468.

44 against: KVP, PvdA, PSP and five ARP members voted in favour. It was voted on again in the First Chamber on 12 February 1963 with 49 for and 16 against: for were KVP, PvdA, five ARP members and two CHU members.[55] The Act would not only make the entire system easier for the general Dutch public to understand, but also more comprehensible to students going through the system.[56] However, the Mammoth Act would not become operational until 1 August 1968; it would take that long to implement the multitudinous changes. Juridically it had taken 25 years, from the first motion in parliament in 1949, to the completion of implementation in 1974. The drastic almost revolutionary (for the Dutch) changeover to all elements and categories of secondary education into one act proved unbelievable for Anti Revolutionary Chamber member A.B. Roosjen who called it a mammoth act; the 1963 of students from both the universities and the higher schools.[57] The

CHART 40: MAMMOTH ACT STRUCTURE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University - Higher School
HBO
Gymnasium
Lyceum
Athenaeum
HAVO
MBO
MAVO
L B O
Elementary school
Special School

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[55] Verlinden, 15.

[56] It was quite noticeable too, that the WVOO Memorandum recommendations were scarcely touched upon.

[57] Van der Leeuw, 3: 302.

1963 Secondary Education Act has been called this ever since. Chart 40 illustrates the structure of the Mammoth Act.

CHAPTER VI - THE MAMMOTH ACT

The ratification on 12 February 1963 of the Wet op het Voortgezet Onderwijs, Secondary Education Act, brought a refreshing element into the secondary education area because for the first time in the history of Dutch education the entire 12 to 18 age group now was regulated collectively under one Act. The Act integrated secondary and partial elementary legislation, some of which had been on the books for 100 years. For example, Thorbecke's 1863 Secondary Education Act which had introduced the HBS schools and the atheneum were precursors of the Mammoth Act. The 1876 Higher Education Act governed the gymnasiums even though the material taught was secondary education; now the Mammoth Act placed the gymnasium in its proper educational level. The 1920 Elementary Act also lost some of its mandate to the Mammoth Act when VGLO, the seventh and eighth school years, was placed within the junior secondary level where it had always belonged. More importantly, vocational education which had been under the jurisdiction of the 1919 Vocational Education Act, was included in the secondary level and became an integral part of the system. The sensible incorporation of the vocational element into secondary education seemed almost revolutionary to the Dutch.

A. THE TERMS OF THE ACT

A succinct overview of the major Articles of the Act will indicate the scope and far reaching implications of educational change that would be instituted by the Mammoth Act. Since the Act itself is too bulky a document to be included as an appendix in this study, some discussion about the structure and specific Articles of the Act is necessary. Although the Act comprised 124 Articles, many of which were administrative, only some Articles are of importance to this study. The first four Articles for example, provide background information and terminological explanations. To illustrate, Article Two of the Act determined that secondary education encompassed education after elementary but before post secondary levels. Article Five described the various levels of secondary education in the Netherlands: a) preparatory academic education, b) higher, middle and lower general continued education, c) higher, middle and lower vocational education and d) other secondary schools not included in the previous three sectors. Article Seven pertained to academic schools: gymnasiums, atheneums, and lyceums. Article Eight to higher general schools, Article Nine to middle general schools, Article 10 to lower schools, Article 13 to vocational education and Article 14 discussed what each sector of vocational education entailed. Articles 15 and 16 referred to lower and middle vocational education respectively. Articles 17 and 18 covered both categories of teacher training. Article 19 concerned the new concept of scholengemeenschap, school community or what in some countries is known as comprehensive schools. Article 20 stipulated that all the types of school mentioned in Article Five could be offered as day or evening schools. Leaving exams and their regulations were the focus of Articles 29, which contained seven subsections, to Article 31.[1] Article 34 established teacher training qualifications. Article 44 stated that honouring and respecting other faiths and societal viewpoints was a given. Article 45 regulated the parental commissions which helped govern the public schools; this Article had seven subsections and will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter. Financial stipulations for private education ranged from Article 48 to 53 while Articles 54 to 59 discussed other financial considerations. Article 60 covered the yearly state exams: 61 to 63 described what was meant by other types of secondary educational programs. Sixty Nine governed the student and population ratios noted in Chapter II. These were the major articles of interest to this study and now will be examined in some detail. Under Article 119 the Act excluded military education, adult education, adult continuing education or training of specific subjects in private businesses such as factories and huge conglomerates contiguous to their fields, some areas of vocational education, and other forms of post secondary education. These were the major Articles of interest to this study, the remaining Articles mostly concerned administrative detail To complete this massive transformation of the secondary educational level the Dutch Parliament passed legislation Stb. 386 Overgangswet WVO, Transitional Act, on 30 June 1967 which was another lengthy document that regulated the implementation of the Mammoth Act. Using supplemental legislation to implement another Act is likely unique to the Dutch. The Transitional Act had a total of 127 Articles. This very detailed piece of legislation is most difficult to read, it is very bureaucratic, but is very indicative of the functionalist element of Dutch education. Without it considerable difficulty in implementing all the restructuring of the secondary level would have resulted. However, this Act need scarcely be discussed here.

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[1] Articles 32 to 41 discussed the human resources requirements and regulations of the various schools and is deemed peripheral to this study.

Now the Mammoth Act will be examined in some detail.

B. MOTIVATION

The need for greater congruency in the system to facilitate coordination, cohesiveness and increased transferability between the three divisions of secondary education was crucial to smooth the way for students; the Mammoth Act was created mainly to provide this element that had heretofore been lacking. Molyneux and Linker argued that the motivation for the Act was due to the "presence of deep divisions within the secondary school world which have restricted the opportunities for transfer of pupils and aggravated the problem when following from wrong choice of school type."[2] Further, the Act allowed for some flexibility in the traditionally rigid structure. For example, a student was only allowed to proceed to the next school year or a higher level if the teacher and the school administrators believed he was capable of mastering that curriculum. In theory this was sound, but the system incredibly had traditionally an over 40 per cent failure rate which, it can be argued, was due to lack of forethought on the part of the educrats.[3] For example, in the grammar schools, if the student had failed some final exams he would be considered as having failed the entire year, including those he had already passed. The student would be forced to repeat all the subjects he had written exams for regardless of which subjects he had passed. This was extremely inefficient and undoubtedly a costly needless enterprise. Making a student repeat courses already passed is ludicrous. Using a credit system per course would certainly result in fewer problems from both financial and student perspectives. As well, the student in the academic schools was allowed to fail the entire year only once, thereafter he had to change to a different category of school and nearly always to a lower level.[4] Another problem was the inability to attend an academic post secondary institution such as a university, unless the student had attended and passed the leaving examinations at the gymnasium or HBS schools. This rigid structural aberration made the classical schools highly selective; the students in these schools fed the post secondary institutes and produced the ruling elite.[5]

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[2] Frank H. Molyneux and G. Linker, "Schools in Transition-the Dutch Approach" Trends in Education no. 17 (Jan.1970): 49.

[3] See Appendix E- Social Pedagogical Students/Final Certificates 1938-1958 - for an indication of the small percentage of students who passed their final examination. Failing such a high percentage is financially irresponsible and suggests and initial erroneous placement.

[4] Numerous studies have been completed on the move, due to a year failure, to either higher or lower categories of schools; roughly 90 per cent of students go to lower categories of schools.

According to Idenburg,[6] the need to extend the career choice of students was also a very significant factor. Traditionally the career choice had to be made at age 12 when the student would go into one of the categories and generally stay there throughout his school years because transference was out of the question. Age 12 was deemed by most people involved to be much too early to make a career choice. Once a student more clearly understood his capabilities and interests it would be easier and more sensible to make a career choice later in the program. The final motivating factor for the Mammoth Act was that during the 1960s Dutch society was being "faced with the difficulty of reconciling the retention of her uniquely high freedom of choice in maintained schooling with the search for greater efficiency and democratisation."[7] These two combatting factors have created havoc in the system since 1848, were intensified with the 1917 Constitutional change and to this day have not been rectified, and likely never will be unless there is another Constitutional change which is even more unlikely. This, more so than any other factor, is the conundrum of Dutch education.

C. STRUCTURAL CLASSIFICATIONS

To a great extent the Mammoth Act must be considered a restructuring Act; everything in the secondary system was restructured in such a way that all three levels of the educational system were affected in myriad ways. This immense endeavour, the educrats believed, would finally bring the Dutch system into the 20th century. A vast amount of information concerning the Mammoth Act is available through the Dutch Annual Reports and educational scholarship. One cannot possibly use all these sources. Rather, the astounding changes brought about by the Mammoth Act will be indicated through a description of the major points and analysis of the Act itself by way of charts and tables which are much less complicated if read with this accompanying narrative. By reviewing charts and tables about specific aspects of the revised secondary system, each from different levels, categories, perspectives and programs, one can readily see that change did occur in the system.

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[5] See K. Tj.Bos, A.M.Ruiters and A.J.Visscher, "Truancy, drop-out, class repeating and their relation with school characteristics," Educational Research 32 no. 3 (Winter 1990): 175-185. See also, Peter Karstanje, "Selection for Higher Education in the Netherlands, " European Journal of Education 16 no. 2 (1981): 197-208. J. Dronkers, "Have unequalities in educational opportunity changes [sic] in the Netherlands? A review of empirical evidence," The Netherlands Journal of Sociology 19 (1983-1-18, and Peter van den Dool, "Selection for Vocational Education Starts Early," European Journal of Education 24 no2. (1989): 127-37 are present insightful viewpoints concerning this major issue in Dutch education.

[6] Philip J. Idenburg, Theorie van het onderwijsbeleid [Theory of educational policy] (Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1971), 346.

[7] Molyneux and Linker, 53.

True to the Dutch functionalist mind set the Secondary Education Act retained the different categories of secondary schools. Rather than having simply one overall category of secondary education with differing programs, Article Five of the Act divided secondary education into four categories which differentiated between types of secondary education: academic secondary, (or the term the Dutch use, preparatory scientific), two types of continued general education and vocational education. The system was thus subdivided into eight types of schools and intellectual categories as illustrated on Chart 41.

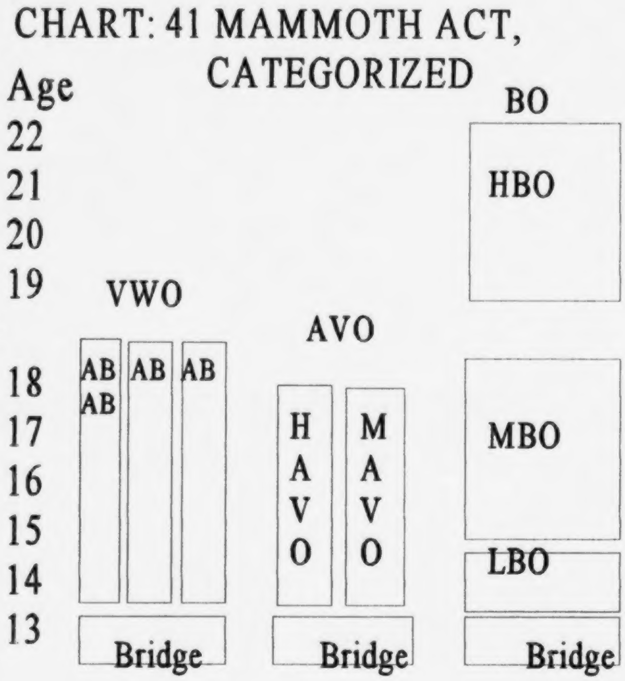
CHART: 41 MAMMOTH ACT, CATEGORIZED

The academic component, voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs, VWO or preparatory academic education for ages 13 to 18 to indicate the category for all the schools within its parameters. The Mammoth Act placed three types of six year academic schools in the VWO category, the gymnasium, the atheneum and the lyceum. General or continued education for ages 13 to 17 became algemeen voortgezet onderwijs, AVO which prepared students for post secondary vocational education. AVO was subdivided into senior general secondary education, HAVO, hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs, with three or five year programs and junior general secondary MAVO, middelbaar algemeen voortgezet onderwijs, that was divided into three or four years. A third category, the vocational component, beroeps onderwijs for ages 13 to 22 became known as BO which unfortunately encountered some social stigma. BO consisted of three levels: LBO, lager beroepsonderwijs, lower or junior vocational education, MBO, middelbaar beroepsonderwijs, middle or senior vocational education and HBO, hoger beroepsonderwijs, higher or vocational education as seen in Chart 41. General secondary education and vocational education, generally did not prepare students for university, rather it prepared them for vocational post secondary education, although some of these graduands did enter university from these programs. Our description will start with the first year of secondary schooling and will progress from academic to vocational programs.

1. Academic Education

a) The Bridge Year

The Mammoth Act seemingly legislated democratization by changing to a less class based selection of schools. Although not mentioned in the Act itself,[8] the concept entitled brugklas[9], a bridge or transition year which in effect was meant to be a common first year for all 13 year olds no matter which school they would enter, became a crucial part of the renewal of the system. Chart 41 indicates where the bridge year fits structurally. Without a doubt this was the most important change from a comprehensive perspective. The bridge class was initiated

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[8] This is quite odd, yet the bridge year has received the most attention from Dutch educational scholarship.

[9] Bridge year is the term most widely used by the Dutch educational community and in English language articles. This was a bridge between elementary and secondary levels so the term bridge seems adequate. The term transitional year is not commonly used; therefore the term bridge year will be used throughout this study.

The bridge year was initiated for a number of reasons: smoother transition from the elementary to the secondary level, transferability, development of study skills and the postponement of the career choice age by one year. A less disturbing transition into the secondary level was imperative because the connecting link from the elementary to the secondary level had long been considered difficult and many people considered the jump to the secondary level too brusque. For decades the early career choice had been problematical; as a result 50 percent of the students never obtained their diploma.[10] The common first year was meant to bridge the gap and give students a chance to identify their interests, abilities and aptitude. Another reason was to simplify transferability from one type of school - gymnasium, atheneum, lyceum, general secondary or vocational - to another by requiring the same first year curriculum in each school.

As well, the bridge year was also meant to be a period in which to instill effective and efficient study habits so that a good academic attitude and demeanour would be achieved. Teachers perceivably could pay particular attention to the weaker students and simultaneously detect the more academically oriented ones. Another reason for the bridge year was career selection. Once a student had completed the bridge year he/she would be able to choose a career and likely not fail because of interest, ability and aptitude in the chosen stream. This was quite crucial for according to Van Gelder, "choice has a decisive influence upon social status and future vocational openings"[11] Thus the bridge year had a three fold task.

The bridge class had a both an informal and formal history in the Netherlands for the concept had been in operation in the Netherlands since 1960 and was clearly based on Scandinavian and British comprehensive schools.[12]

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[10] Verlinden, 303.

[11] Van Gelder, 468.

[12] Some of the classical Dutch studies on the bridge year are: W.H. Brouwer et al., De Comprehensive School in Engeland, Wales en Schotland, [The Comprehensive School in England, Wales and Scotland] (Groningen/Djakarta:Mededelingen van het Nutseminarium voor Pedagogie University of Amsterdam No 59, (1956), H. Nieuwenhuisen et al., "Comprehensive school gedachte,"[Comprehensive school thought] Pedagogische Studiën 34 (1957), and E. Velema, De Comprehensive School in Zweden en Noorwegen, [The

But the Gobbelschroy Commission and Bolkestein both had suggested a bridge year component, albeit two years, long before the Mammoth Act was passed. Shortly after the implementation of the Act considerable debate centred around the desirability of lengthening the period of the bridge beyond one year. However, the Dutch concluded at that time that this type of project would neither be simple, nor easy to implement, and quite costly mostly because of the domino effect it would have on numerous other aspects of Dutch education. Nevertheless the experiment was brought to the attention of educrats and parents alike and made mandatory by the Mammoth Act.

As noted earlier, one aim of the bridge year was to ensure that all the students entering secondary education would begin with the same common curriculum so that if they had to switch from one school to another they would be prepared more adequately. One focus of the bridge year consequently was on some type of uniformity especially concerning the curriculum. Another was to reduce the number of subjects so that students would not be bewildered with the wealth of new material at the more intense level. And rather than a teacher for each subject the student only had to contend with five or six teachers rather than 12 or 14 which would be the case after the bridge year. In addition, a guidance teacher with training in both pedagogy and psychology advised the students, the teachers and the parents. The aim of ameliorating the shock of one level to another was certainly commendable.

b) VWO Education

The changes implemented by the Mammoth Act expanded the academic stream with the creation of the Voortgezet Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs, VWO. This category was subdivided into three different six year programs: gymnasium, atheneum, and lyceum. These were the old grammar schools, as

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Comprehensive School in Sweden and Norway] Mededelingen van het Nutseminarium voor Pedagogiek aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam No 65, (Groningen, 1959).

discussed in Chapters II and III, which by tradition were academically oriented. The Dutch considered this pre-university education for it focussed on a vertical structure that led to admittance to academic, as opposed to vocational, post secondary programs. The traditional six year gymnasium remained a six year program so no change was made there.[13]

However, the former five year HBS was extended to six years and renamed Atheneum A. The former five year HBS B schools became six year Atheneum B schools. So this was merely a new name for the same program. Another new type of school was created by combining the Gymnasium and HBS A/B five or six year programs; this resulted in yet another school with a six year program called the lyceum, a term that had been used since the 1910s.[14] One can readily agree with Helena Stellwag who was of the opinion that the "Lyceum is a H.B.S to which, after the first or second year, Grammar School classes have been added."[15] According to Verlinden between 1965, 1966, and 1967 at least 600 students attended the lyceum schools which enjoyed a 200 enrolment increase over the former HBS schools.[16]

The range of the classical curriculum at the VWO schools, as to be expected, was much wider than at the other secondary categories. The programs all began with the shared bridge year which had Dutch language, English, French, geography, history and social studies as the curriculum. Students were split into the A and B categories in the penultimate year in both the gymnasiums and the atheneums. The atheneum A stream stressed literature, culture and economy whereas the B stream focussed on mathematics. The gymnasium had three common years after the bridge year and then was split into A and B in the final year due to minor curriculum variations. The A stream in gymnasium was classical literary education whereas the B stream, while classical, placed greater emphasis on mathematics. In gymnasium A it was compulsory to take Dutch,

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[13] By the 1980s the program distinctions among these schools would become blurred. These programs could easily all have been taught in the same schools rather than in different schools for each program but this was prevented by the rigid functionalism.

[14] Idenburg, Schets 347.

[15] Stellwag, 59.

[16] Verlinden, 130.

Latin, Greek, and a modern foreign language. The gymnasium B' compulsory subjects were Dutch, Latin or Greek, as opposed to Latin and Greek, a modern foreign language, mathematics, and a science such as chemistry or biology. Thereafter the student had a choice of two other subjects. This was unique; students before the Mammoth Act never had any choice. The idea of giving students some choice in their programs was quite an innovation for the Dutch and they deemed this element to be quite progressive. In atheneum A it was compulsory to take Dutch, two modern foreign languages, history, geography, economics and then the student was given a choice of two other subjects. Atheneum B made Dutch, a modern foreign language, mathematics, and two compulsory sciences; in addition the student had a choice of two other subjects. Students now took a verbal *tentamen* exam and a final written exam. For the first time in Dutch educational history the secondary schools were in a sense democratized and individualized. Table 6 below illustrates the structural similarities of the VWO schools.

TABLE 6: VWO SCHOOLS

Age	Gymnasium		Atheneum		Lyceum	
18	A	B	A	B	A	B
17	A	B	Common		Common	
16	Common		Common		Common	
15	Common		Common		Common	
14	Common		Common		Common	
13	Bridge Year		Bridge Year		Bridge Year	

2. General Secondary Education

a) HAVO- Higher General Secondary Education

At the senior secondary level the five year HBS A and B section, the five year MMS and the four year commercial day school were incorporated into *hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs*, HAVO senior general program for those wishing to further their education for post secondary vocational programs. This general education differed quite significantly from the VWO academic program for it was specifically designed for those students who did not intend to pursue academic post secondary education. Students entered this program on the recommendation of their former elementary teachers. The HAVO program began with the bridge year with the following two years being common years and the specialization of the student's program commencing in the fourth year. At this time the students would be streamed into a variety of major and minor subjects but these were prescribed by the school administration. The curriculum included Dutch, German, French, English, history, political science, geography, economy, mathematics, physics, biology, music art, industrial arts, and physical education. There was some variety among these schools, some HAVO schools offering additional languages such as Spanish, Latin, or Russian. Yet other HAVO schools offered philosophy, religion, astronomy, theatrical arts, health care, child care, care of the sick, homemaking, nutrition, and clothing care. The program was completed with a final state leaving examination in Dutch, one foreign modern language, and four exams from a choice of history, political science, mathematics, geography, physics, chemistry, biology, or economy. The HAVO graduates could enter a higher level of vocational education or train for administrative positions.

b) MAVO- Senior General Education

The senior level of secondary education became the middel algemeen voortgezet onderwijs, MAVO schools or middle general education. This sector replaced the former three and four year ULO schools and the former three year HBS schools which were sparsely attended.[17] As with the other school categories the program commenced with the bridge year so that incorrect placement would be easier to rectify at the end of the bridge year and only one year would be lost. Thereafter the curriculum offered Dutch, French, German, English history, geography, political science, economy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, music, art, industrial arts, and physical education. Some MAVO schools offered additional choice in Spanish, Frisian, religious instruction, art history, child care, health care, home making, nutrition, care of clothing, or theatrical arts. However, Dutch and at least one language - French, German or English- were mandatory. The three year MAVO concluded with a state leaving examination in the following subjects: Dutch, one additional modern language, a choice of three of history, political science, geography, mathematics, biology, or economy. The four year MAVO school final examination is similar but a fourth subject was added to those previously mentioned. These graduates could enter the workforce in lower clerical positions in government or industry or they could continue their education in the four year HAVO program.

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[17] See Chart 11 in Chapter II.

c) LAVO-Lower General Education

Article 10 in the Mammoth Act concerned the new LAVO schools. The former elementary program's two year VGLO sector, the seventh and eighth school year which had been introduced after World War II was renamed and replaced by the lager algemeen voortgezet onderwijs, LAVO which means lower general continued education. This level also commenced with a bridge year and consisted of a maximum of two year program. One could say that this program was the lowest or beginning level of the AVO category. Generally members of the lower socio-economic level attended these schools.[18]

Obviously the secondary system experienced considerable change and new names accompanied all of the structural changes. Despite the fact that the secondary system was divided into four categories, not including the vocational sector, the Act facilitated comprehension of the system. It also made for a smoother transition from one program to another.

3.Vocational Education Changes

Another refreshing element of the Mammoth Act was the incorporation into secondary education of a major innovation for the Dutch - vocational education. Since 1919 the Vocational Act of the same year had been juridically responsible for this type of education but was now included with the other segments of secondary education under the Mammoth Act. The Act defined vocational education with much greater variation than had previously been the case. A more exact description in Article 13 determined that vocational education would consist of technical education, (including nautical) domestic science education, commercial education, agriculture, trade education, economic and administrative education, teacher training, social pedagogical and fine arts.

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[18] These schools no longer exist.

As indicated on Chart 41, vocational education had three levels which were distinguished by age. The lager beroepsonderwijs or LBO, was the lowest level of vocational education. The next level up was the middel beroepsonderwijs, MBO, or middle vocational education which was followed up by hoger beroepsonderwijs, HBO or higher vocational education. The Act determined that vocational education would consist of junior and senior levels. The junior level accommodated those who had attained elementary vocational education. It is interesting to note that shortly after the Mammoth Act was in force at 50 fifty per cent of the students in the Netherlands entered junior vocational education.[19] These students would embark on a three or four year vocational program at the secondary level and enter the workforce in trade occupations. An apprenticeship program accompanied this type of education. Senior vocational education took three to five years to complete, the duration of the program being entirely dependent on the field chosen by the student although generally it was four years. The graduates of this category could enter the higher level which approximately ranged from ages 18 to 22 and can be considered a post secondary non academic program. At the time the Dutch did not consider splitting vocational education at all, every level was included as BO. The change to making higher BO a part of the post secondary system did not take place until the passage of the 1985 Higher Education Act.

The three levels of vocational education were distinguished by the letters l, m. or h, as a prefix in the title of the school as noted in Chart 41. For example, at the lower level the schools use "l" as a prefix to define that particular type of school. Technical training school at the lower level would thus be abbreviated to LTS. The same held true for the middle and higher categories. At the middle level the school for domestic science middelbaar huishoud en nijverheid onderwijs, would be known as MHNO. At the higher level economie en administrative onderwijs, HEAO, meant higher economic and administration education. The restructuring of the system meant new terms for all the categories and levels of schools which is one of the reasons it was considered a mammoth undertaking hence its nickname. The terms for technical schools thus were preceded by the first letter indicating the level of the program; a student would follow LTS with MTS and then quite likely continue to HTS. To illustrate, general and practical training for domestic science and care giving were offered at the LHNO, MHNO, and HHNO. This is easy to understand if it is laid out in a chart or table but seems quite complicated when one first makes contact with the system. In agricultural education the levels were lls, mls, and hls. In commercial education the levels were leao, meao, and heao schools. Another important innovation in all this was that secondary vocational education had become part of the secondary educational community rather than a component of the private business element of Dutch society.

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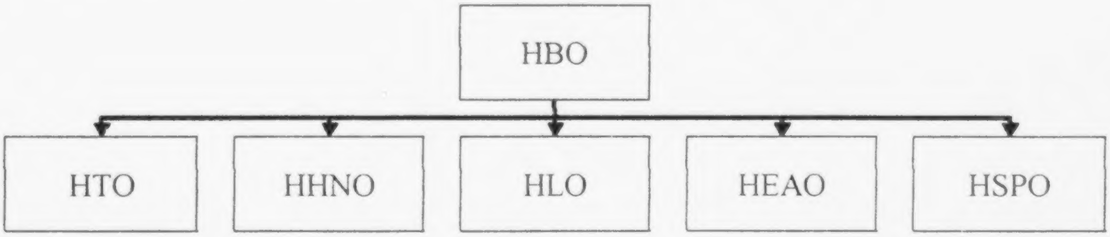
[19] The Kingdom of the Netherlands, Facts and Figures, (1970/71) 24.

An overview of the changes to the secondary component of the Mammoth Act regarding vocational schools will commence with the senior higher vocational level which commences around age 18 and work down to the lowest or junior secondary vocational level. It is important to remember that even though these school had some similarities in their programs the depth and concentration of the subjects and levels varied considerably and without a doubt at that time were superior to the North American standards.

a) HBO- Higher secondary vocational education

CHART 42: HBO SCHOOLS



i) HTO- Higher Technical Education

Students in this four year program obtained their requisites in the field of their choice: chemistry, mathematics, biology, or physics. Various categories of nautical education programs for those interested in maritime activities and laboratory technician training were also included in this category. The graduands were specialized and entered such diverse fields as engineering, physics, chemical technology, building contracting, metallurgy, management and architecture. This program was also offered in the evenings but required a five year commitment for completion.

ii) HHNO- Higher Domestic Science Education

This four year program offered applied domestic science with both theoretical and practical training. Graduands obtained employment as geriatric facility administrators, hospital housekeepers, and recreational facility managers.. The student had to have completed either the HAVO or MBO diploma to gain admittance to this program.

iii) HLO-Higher Agricultural Education

This category consisted of a four year program that had a wide variety of subject offerings. For example, market gardening and landscape, forestry and soil technology, horticulture, food technology, tropical agriculture, and agriculture. Completion of this program allowed the student admittance to the post secondary University of Agriculture at Wageningen.

iv) HEAO-Higher Commercial Education

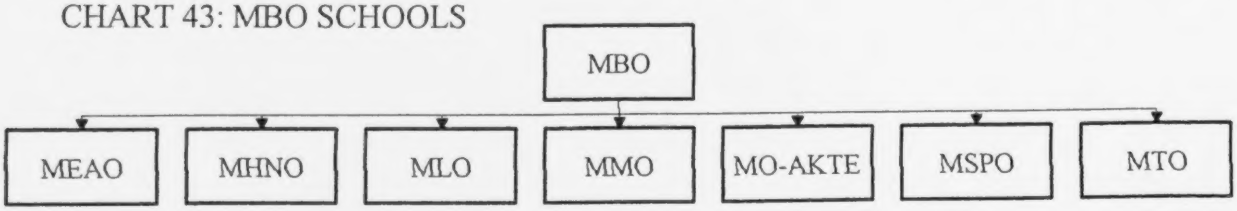
This three year program (except for computing sciences which is four years), requires a HAVO diploma. At the end of the first year students choose one of five specialties: industrial administration, economics and law, communications, industrial computer science, and industrial administration. These schools also offer specialties within the accounting field.

v) HSPO-Higher Socio-Pedagogic Education

These schools offered a wide variety of subjects which were geared to training students to be youth group leaders, human resources, nursing, child care workers, social workers, educational guidance workers, community developments, and health care residence workers. A journalism program was included in this category. Students could enter this school with a leaving certificate from HAVO.

b) MBO-Senior Vocational Education

CHART 43: MBO SCHOOLS



Middelbaar beroeps onderwijs or MBO was the collective name for the secondary three and four year programs which also commenced with a bridge year. In the private schools religion was taught and the curriculum was not determined by law but by the school with permission from the Minister of Education. The schools had different programs and different duration for completion.

i)MEAO-Secondary Economic and Administrative Schools

The middelbaar economisch en administratief onderwijs otherwise known as the MEAO, or secondary commercial education, was a three year program which was divided into five sectors: commercial, management, secretarial, administrative and an optional sector. The graduates of these programs obtained positions in junior administrative levels.

ii) MHNO-Secondary Domestic Science Schools

The middle domestic science schools offered a variety of programs with a different range of one to three year program duration. Completion of the three year preparatory training VHBO course led to a career in institutionalized care giving. In North American terms this would result in a person obtaining a position as an aide in a hospital or seniors or handicapped home.

iii) MLO- Secondary Agricultural Schools

The middelbaar landbouw onderwijs or MLO offered programs in agriculture, forestry, plant technology, horticulture and food technology. The majority of the programs lasted between two to four years.

iv) MMO-Secondary Trade Schools

The middelbaar middenstandonderwijs program, MMO, or secondary trade education had both two and three year programs. The program started with the bridge year but hereafter there was a variation in the durations depending on the trade. For example the retail trades school had a three year program while the catering or hotel and restaurant courses had a four year program with the final year being a practicum.

v) MSPO-Secondary Social Pedagogical Schools

Middelbaar sociaal pedagogisch onderwijs, MSPO, or secondary socio-pedagogical education had quite a range of programs in its category. This school offered training for geriatric care, family social assistance work, sports organizations, labour policy and human resource management, social service, youth organizations, organizational behaviour training, cultural work, journalism, occupational therapy and labour therapy.[20] The graduates of this program entered into careers such as child care workers, journalists, adult education, or community organizations.

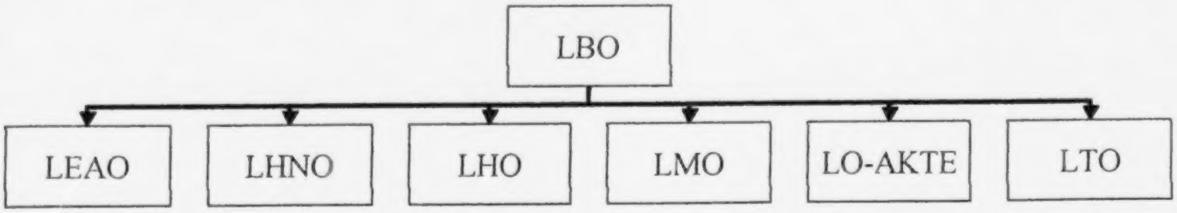
vi) MTO-Secondary Technical Shools

The MTO schools provided senior secondary level programs for such subjects as photography, auto mechanics, mining, instrument technicians, bakers, and electricians. This school had a four year program which commenced with the bridge year and ended with the last or fourth year being a practicum year. The graduates of these schools obtained positions in industry.

c) LBO- Junior Secondary Vocational Education

The lower level of vocational education can be considered junior secondary vocational education. These were generally three and four year programs divided into a variety of schools with 20 hours per week devoted to general education but all geared to the same vocational element of education. This category of schools also commenced with the bridge year and terminated with six compulsory leaving exams. Often a seventh exam was written if the student so wished. Completion of this program led to acceptance at the MBO level which approximately one third of all students chose.

CHART 44: LBO SCHOOLS



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[20] These are the schools depicted in Appendix E - Social Pedagogical Students/Final Certificates 1938-1958.

i) LEAO-Lower Commercial School

This was a three year commercial program which began with the bridge year and was geared to those interested in theory for working in retail stores, factory work or filing and typing. The third year was a practicum to gain work experience. The career choice for this program was made in the fourth year which then became the year for specialization.

ii) LHNO-Lower Domestic Science School

This type of school was considered a domestic science school which presented a choice of five different orientations. LHNO included programs for barbers and hairdressers, office assistants, clerks, and design, clothing and textiles for future seamstresses. This three year program was divided into the same Practicum and Theory categories as mentioned above.

iii) LHO-Lower Agricultural School

The junior secondary agricultural schools were regulated by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries. Programs in forestry, horticulture and agriculture as well as agricultural technology were offered at these schools. The region where the school was situated was an important component because the schools curriculum centred around the needs of a particular geographic region. In all other respects such as exams and class divisions, this school corresponded to the LTO schools.

iv) LMO-Lower Trade School

The junior secondary trade school made its appearance in the Dutch educational system to accommodate the steadily increasing population after World War II. This school offered a four year program for independent small enterprises or businesses. No division into groups was encountered in this school, but it was significantly comparable to the LTO schools. After the completion of the bridge year two general years led to the specialization for example, advertising, or computerized bookkeeping. If a student successfully completed the program at this school he could advance to the MTO school or establish his own business.

v) LO-Akte Teacher Training

This section was mentioned in significant detail in Chapter II and will not be repeated here.

vi) LTO Lower Technical School

The junior technical school was formerly the trade school. This school offered three variations in its program. For example, there was a three year course, a four year course or a combined three and four year course. This was dependent on individual circumstances. This technical school included programs in construction, consumption, mechanical, electrical, graphical, and motor streams. The classes were divided into two groups the P level for practicum and the T level for theory. The weaker students in this program entered a separate program for individual technical instruction.

The new vocational secondary educational system and its incorpration into the secondary system may seem overwhelming to comprehend with its categorization and subdivisions. It was a major undertaking because all of secondary education was featured under one Act for the first time in Dutch educational history. This factor alone was no small feat and should be understood and appreciated within that context. It is safe to say that this was the greatest achievement of the Act from an egalitarian perspective.

D. COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

The Mammoth Act was also responsible for another innovation in the schools, inclusion of the scholengemeenschap or school community which in effect were what the Dutch considered comprehensive schools. The North American term for these would be bilateral or multilateral schools. Some people in the Dutch educational community liked the bridge year and viewed it as the most vital element of the Mammoth Act. Ten school communities had been allowed an extension of the bridge year to a three year program, but with non-streamed classes covering the pre university, continued general and vocational sectors. The Act stipulated that with this type of school various types of secondary academic and non academic schools could be combined into one school community and become comprehensive schools offering several school programs in one school building . For example, an amalgamated HAVO and MAVO school could become a comprehensive school. Another example would be a combination of a VWO school and a HAVO school. Each comprehensive school would have one principal. Considerable dissent evolved over the establishment of comprehensive schools. Many Dutch academics and educrats feared that these types of schools would provide a factory atmosphere in the schools.[21] Another fear was that the intellectual level of education would be downgraded in these schools.[22]

But a very small number of comprehensive schools were already in place in the Netherlands. One example was the comprehensive school Osdorper Scholengemeenschap Osdorper Comprehensive School, in Amsterdam which taught a program combined from HAVO, MAVO, and LTS programs. One voice in the wilderness, Dutch educational reformer Cornelis Boeke[23] had operated a comprehensive school at Bilthoven named Werkplaats Kindergemeenschap, Children's Community Workshop, which taught a combined VHMO and ULO curriculum and was the prototype for the later VWO, HAVO, MAVO comprehensive schools. Moreover, since 1964 the experimental schools had changed categories and incorporated various other categories of programs within one school. The changeover was gradual, beginning with three HAVO Department Schools which were being made redundant with the Mammoth Act, merging with a VHMO school.[24]

E. ANALYSIS OF THE CHANGES

Clearly a significant amount of change derived from the implementation of the Mammoth Act. Evidently, as indicated in the first part of this chapter, the changes incorporated by the Mammoth Act were of a considerable magnitude if viewed strictly from an administrative perspective. The secondary system seemingly was renewed completely, a transition year was introduced, new school types were created and vocational secondary education was categorized and placed within the secondary sphere. But a close examination quickly indicates that the Mammoth Act, while seemingly of a considerable magnitude and gargantuan in the number of administrative changes, was scarcely innovative nor could it be considered pedagogical reform. One can argue that at its most basic level the Act merely reorganized, renamed, recategorized and slightly restructured the secondary educational level. The Mammoth Act followed a pattern of regression in the educational arena in some ways; it scarcely modernized the system. Karstanje argues that "the Secondary Education Act of 1963 brought no changes in the hierarchical system of rigidly distinguished school categories."[25] Largely, as will be shown, the old fashioned categorized system was maintained and in many instances intensified. The highly departmentalized, subject centered, rigid schedule of education also was preserved. The sources consulted for this study indicate that the Dutch then scarcely considered the numerous psychological changes that 12 to 15 year olds endured. Consequently the Dutch education system was not geared to the students needs before the Act was passed and in fact only made very minor changes regarding student development. The educrats and some members of parliament believed that the bridge year transition period would be a panacea to all the problems that the elementary system previously had encountered. However, when viewing the secondary system from a before and after perspective one quickly realizes that in fact the Mammoth Act caused very little change to occur.

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[21] Verlinden, 92.

[22] More comment on the comprehensive schools will be found in Chapter VII.

[23] C. Boeke (1884-1966) was a Dutch educational reformer and will be discussed in Chapter VII.

[24] Annual Report 1965 9. See pages 9-13 of this document for a complete list of the schools that were involved with the experimental school program.

Since the bridge year was a major innovation and commenced all the programs in the secondary system it is deemed a good starting point. The principle idea behind the common bridge year was that all the students entering the secondary category could partake in a common curriculum and thereafter be streamed into the types of schools and categories concomitant with their interests and aptitudes. This seemed ideal and certainly paved the way toward equality for those students in the system. By using comparative charts and tables to illustrate the program offered in the bridge year one can see that the curriculum varied little from school to school.

However, the bridge year, as with everything else in Dutch society, also had categories; for the vocational schools, LAVO, had a different bridge year than the academic programs.This deviation was the result of a compromise between parliament and Education Minister Cals. The traditionally minded groups in parliament thought the bridge year idea was superfluous and the sceptics decried the thought of a bridge year without Latin. Consequently Cals was forced to concede that Latin would be taught in the gymnasium bridge year in exchange for approval of the bridge year idea. This automatically negated the very idea of a common curriculum for all the first year secondary students and reinforced Dutch functionalism even in the so-called common first year. Comprehensive schooling by its very nature needs to have a commonality, class systems, and functionalism have no place in this type of school. Ironically the Mammoth Act legislation made the bridge year unequal. That is perhaps why it is not mentioned in the Act itself.

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[25] Peter Karstanje, "Selection for Higher Education in the Netherlands" European Journal of Education 16 no. 2, (1981): 202.

TABLE 7: BRIDGE YEAR CURRICULUM

BRIDGE YEAR CURRICULUM			
VWO HAVO MAVO		LAVO	
Subject	Minimum Weekly Lessons	Subject	Minimum Weekly Lessons
Dutch Language	4	Dutch Language	3
French	4	Modern Language	2
English	3		
History	2	History/Geography	2
Geography	2		
Mathematics	4	Mathematics	2
Biology	2	Science	2
Music	1	Music	1
Art/Drawing	2	Art	2
Dexterity	1	Dexterity	4
Physical Education	3	Physical Education	3
Study Period	2	Study Period	2

As Table 7[26] indicates, most of the subjects offered in the bridge year were fairly evenly distributed from a curriculum content in the minimum lessons per week[27] and made good use of the common curriculum. The curriculum that lists the minimum weekly lessons per subject or groups of subjects indicates that there was indeed a difference between the two types of bridge years. That is not to say the bridge year curriculum in both sectors were entirely different; they were simply not completely common as the term bridge year or common year suggests. The schedules and the subjects also differed. Moreover, it still streamed students in the first year rather than made them equal whereas the idea behind the bridge year had been not to separate or stream the students the first year. Obviously equality was not achieved by separating the students into two streams within the bridge year. In fact it negated the very idea of commonality. This split made the bridge year an imperfect attempt to provide common programs. But the idea of a common first year, despite its corruption into two categories, retained its purpose and was a jumping off point for the comprehensive schools.

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[26] Verlinden, 59 and 112.

TABLE 8: MAMMOTH ACT NAME CHANGES

NAME	BEFORE		AFTER
Lower	VGLO 2 year	→	LAVO 2 year
Middle	ULO 3-4 year	→	MAVO 4 year
Higher	HBS A 5 year		
	HBS B 5 year	→	HAVO 5 year
	MMS 5 year		
Academic	Gymnasium 6 year		
	HBS 5 year	→	VWO 6year
	Lyceum 5-6 year		

Another area of interest concerning the changes brought about by the Mammoth Act is that it increased rather than decreased categorization and streaming with the new names allocated to the various schools. The name changes can be seen readily with Table 8. For example, the VWO was classically oriented and prepared the student for university entrance, while the HAVO and MAVO schools replaced the former HBS three and four year schools and socially were considered one step lower than the classical program. The vocational schools always had a lower appreciation from the Dutch public and its category was not as socially acceptable as the other categories.

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[27] Other courses were included, these were only the minimum subjects.

From a restructuring perspective one can see that the changes were in fact quite minute. The main change was that the categories would be combined and renamed. Neither did the length of programs change significantly. As noted earlier, the six year gymnasium became the six year VWO, the former five year HBS and MMS schools became the five year HAVO, the (M)ULO became MAVO and the VGLO became LAVO. Obviously the Mammoth Act was fundamentally a name change for various programs. To make this more obvious and easier to understand various tables will be included for comparison purposes. These will indicate that the structural changes remained as a step ladder and in fact did not change whatsoever so one can conclude that structural changes to the Dutch secondary education system were in fact quite slight.

TABLE 9: LAVO STRUCTURE

	VGLO ⇨	became	⇨ LAVO
14	Common	⇨⇨⇨	Common
13	Common	⇨⇨⇨	Bridge Year

Quite obviously the change that occurred in the conversion of the former VGLO, the seventh and eighth school year that had commenced after World War II, to a LAVO school was minimal. This is illustrated in Table 9.[28] The major difference was that at age 13 all students took the bridge year whereas in the VGLO the students all had common years.

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[28] The LAVO school no longer exists.

TABLE 10: MAVO STRUCTURE

	(M)ULO- 3 or 4 year	⇨ became	⇨MAVO
16	4th year	⇨⇨⇨	
15	3rd year	⇨⇨⇨	
14	2nd year	⇨⇨⇨	
13	1st year	⇨⇨⇨	Bridge year

The same shift, a name change, occurs in the conversion of the (M)ULO schools to the MAVO schools.The first year was changed to the bridge year. Those enrolled in the program before 1968 continued with the old curriculum but by 1974 all the students would have to be in the four year MAVO program.

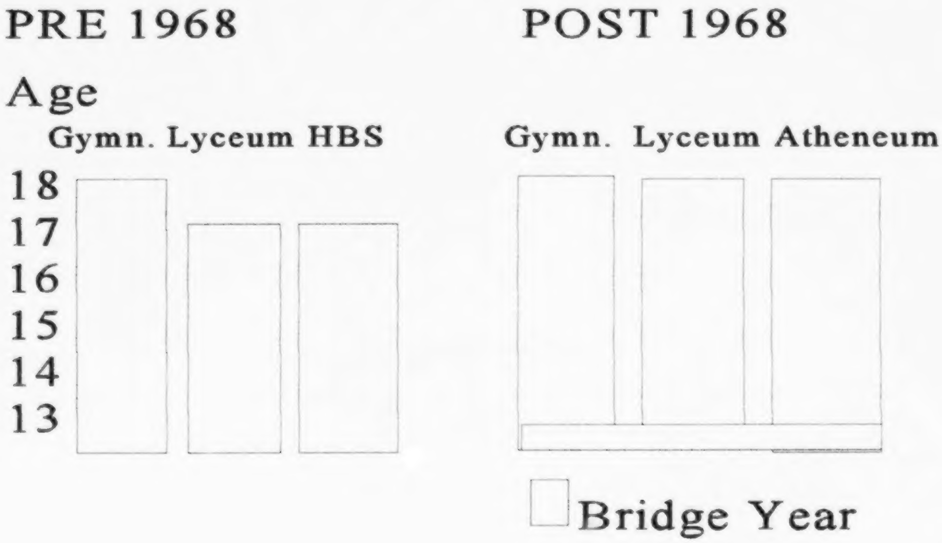
TABLE 11: HAVO STRUCTURE

	HBS		MMS ⇨	became ⇨	HAVO
17	A	B	Common	⇨⇨⇨	
16	Common		Common	⇨⇨⇨	
15	Common		Common	⇨⇨⇨	
14	Common		Common	⇨⇨⇨	
13	Common		Common	⇨⇨⇨	Bridge Year

The HAVO schools too were merely a combination of the MMS and HBS schools which retained their similar programs as indicated in Table 11.

It is also easier to realise how very little the academic secondary structure changed if one compares the two structures side by side. As noted, the gymnasium did not change, it stayed a six year grammar school. The major changes were found with the addition of one year to the lyceum and the HBS changing into an atheneum.These were quite minute changes as Chart 45 indicates. The addition of the bridge year to all the schools in this category and the additional year to all three categories of the VWO schools were the major alterations. The step ladder structure of Dutch education did not change with the Mammoth Act.

CHART 45: MAMMOTH ACT STRUCTURE



Yet another factor in the analysis of the Mammoth Act is that the students actually received very little in the way of choice of final leaving exams or subjects. The majority of the subjects were compulsory and the additional choice of four out of seven subjects in fact left little room for maneuvering. The students were in many cases writing exams for subjects in which they had little aptitude and this hindered a pass for the year. One need only examine the excessively high failure rate for these schools to verify this factor. The curriculum also changed very little although to the Dutch it seemed that the change was considerable. The gymnasium program for example retained its classical orientation. At the HAVO and MAVO schools the same subjects that had been taught before the name changes by the Mammoth Act were retained. As Boekholt and De Booy pointed out, the HBS and the MMS in reality were still in existence only under different names.[29] Splitting the gymnasiums and atheneums into A and B categories also was not a very innovative idea; this was the same structure as before passage of the Mammoth Act. There was also nothing new about these ideas for they had been propounded for decades with the various alternative educational structures offered by various Commissions, Reports as discussed in Chapters III and V. Moreover, the differences in these programs were so slight that these A and B courses could have been offered in the same classes and schools. Partitioning the programs into these divisions created more bureaucracy, higher expenses and was not all that effective from a reform perspective. The tables illustrated in the following pages indicate the different types of schools, the curriculum and the minimum lessons per week for each subject.

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[29] Boekholt and De Booy, 286-287.

TABLE 12: GYMNASIUM CURRICULUM

Gymnasium A		**Gymnasium B**	
Subjects-Minimum lessons taught		**Subjects-Minimum lessons taught**	
Dutch Language & Literature	18	Dutch Language & Literature	18
Latin Language & Literature	23	Latin Language & Literature	25
Greek Language & Literature	18	----	---
French Language & Literature	9	French Language & Literature	9
German Language & Literature	7	German Language & Literature	7
English Language & Literature	8	English Language & Literature	8
History and Civics	15	History and Civics	9
Geography	8	Geography	6
Sociology	2	Sociology	2
Mathematics	12	Mathematics	20
Science	4	Science	11
Chemistry	2	Chemistry	7
Biology	4	Biology	6
Music, Art, Manual Dexterity	6	Music, Art, Manual Dexterity	6
Physical Education	14	Physical Education	14
Study Periods	2	Study Periods	2

The basic difference between the A and B gymnasium schools for example, was that the latter did not have a Greek language component and that history and civics were allocated fewer hours. The Dutch should have been able to accommodate both of these divisions in one school. By examining Table 12[30] closely one soon observes that there is only a small variation between these programs. Greek was not taught in B which allowed for a greater emphasis on mathematics and history and civics, but otherwise the programs are not appreciably different and do not warrant separate schools. Surely the Dutch system could have provided a number of sections of different classes to accommodate these minor variations.

TABLE 13: ATHENEUM CURRICULUM

Atheneum A		**Atheneum B**	
Dutch Language & Literature	20	Dutch Language & Literature	20
French Language & Literature	11	French Language & Literature	11
German Language & Literature	9	German Language & Literature	9
English Language & Literature	9	English Language & Literature	9
History and Civics	12	History and Civics	10
Geography	8	Geography	8
Economics and Law	12	----	----
Sociology	2	Sociology	2
Mathematics	14	Mathematics	20
Science	4	Science	11
Chemistry	2	Chemistry	7
Biology	4	Biology	6
Music, Art, Manual Dexterity	9	Music, Art, Manual Dexterity	6
Physical Education	14	Physical Education	14
Study Periods	2	Study Periods	2

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[30] Verlinden, 59.

At the Atheneum the same slight variation occurred. The only difference between the A and B sectors was that less hours were allocated to economics and law and more emphasis was placed on mathematics and science. Aside from these variations the A and B sectors were quite similar as indicated in Table 13.[31] The differences in the curriculum as shown above were so slight, one school was more oriented to the sciences than the other, that the schools could have offered these programs in one building, with several sections of each class. A number of schools were in fact doing this but parliament needed to keep the functionalist element and ensured that the "pillarization" was maintained. The lyceum program, divided into a shared first two common years and thereafter a split into A and B categories the last four years was also scarcely worth the numbers of different school buildings. This school had a combined curriculum of the above mentioned table; it is not deemed necessary to repeat these tables.

The HAVO School curriculum is included in this category in Table 14[32] because it had to complete the HAVO Department School program which was legislatively eliminated with the Mammoth Act.

TABLE 14: HAVO CURRICULUM

HAVO SCHOOL		**HAVO DEPARTMENT**	
Dutch Language & Literature	18	Dutch Language &Literature	6
French Language & Literature	9	1 Foreign Language & Literature	6
German Language & Literature	6	Sociology	2
English Language & Literature	8	1 of Music, Art, Manual Dexterity	4
History and Civics	7	Physical Education	4
Geography	6	No Study period	
Sociology	2		

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[31] Verlinden, 60.

[32] Verlinden, 61.

Mathematics	10
Science	10
Chemistry	2
Biology	4
Music, Art, Manual Dexterity	12
Physical Education	12
Study Period	2

The MAVO curriculum similarly had a bridge year in both programs. The variations were quite noticeable as indicated in Table 15[33] below. Obviously the three year programs focused more on the sciences.Otherwise there was little to differentiate between the two types of programs.

TABLE 15: MAVO CURRICULUM

MAVO 4 Year		**MAVO 3 Year**	
Dutch Language & Literature	16	Dutch Language & Literature	11
French & English Languages	25	French & English Languages	14
History and Civics	6	History and Civics	4
Geography	6	Geography	4
Sociology	2	Sociology	2
Mathematics	8	Mathematics	7
Science and Chemistry	4	Science, Chemistry & Biology	6
Biology	4	----	---
Business Practice	2	Business Practice	2
Music, Art, Manual Dexterity	10	Music, Art, Manual Dexterity	9
Physical Education	11	Physical Education	9
Study Period	2	Study Period	2

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[33] Verlinden, 62.

Ultimately the Mammoth Act merely constituted an administrative change. These tables concerning the curriculum indicate that the diversity in the Mammoth Act schools was not as great as the Dutch seemed to believe. The renewed system was neither progressive, effective nor functional, it only altered the names of the various schools; nearly the same curriculum as before the Mammoth Act was taught in schools that simply had different names as illustrated in the various charts. The needless expense of the minor duplication of programs was a waste of resources. Overall, the Mammoth Act provided for a recategorization of the schools, the bridge year, and the idea of implementing a type of comprehensive school. The Mammoth Act aggravated the excessive categorization and intensified the class differences; it escalated the streaming process and failed to liberate the student. Simultaneously the Mammoth Act also maintained the high intellectual expectations of its programs and inexorably increased the failure rate. The concessions made to individual students were relatively minor, the old traditional system was still in place but under a new name. Ultimately the Act was based on a functionalist world view which to a great extent made the Act redundant before it was passed.

CHAPTER VII - SOCIETAL DETERMINANTS AND THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE MAMMOTH ACT.

From the previous chapters one can deduce that three periods of educational renewal and reform have occurred in the Netherlands since the inception of a state educational system in 1801. In educational reform literature various stages in the reform process have been recognized: the initiation stage in which developments and presentations of renewal take place, the implementation stage in which legislation for the renewal occurs and the incorporation stage where the legislation has taken effect and been incorporated with the old system; sometimes another initiation phase overlaps this stage. The Dutch system certainly fits the pattern but again with its own variations. Appendix N -Educational Reform Stages- illustrates a comparison of the various reform eras of the Dutch educational system and the duration of these stages. Dodde argues that the first reform era was the period from the 1760s to 1857 by which time all the national educational legislation (except for vocational education) had been implemented. The second phase dates from 1829 with new ideas and legislation by 1920; this included passage of elementary legislation and various other educational acts. Obviously the first two reform eras are similar in duration. However, the Mammoth Act, which fits into the third phase has a lengthier duration: it had a 65-year initiation stage from 1898 to 1963 and only a five-yearr incorporation period. As has been discussed in the previous chapter the Mammoth Act did not alter the Dutch educational system as many members of Dutch society had expected.[1] One cannot state that the Act was a total failure, but it was certainly very ineffective from a pedagogical perspective largely because it was an administrative piece of legislation. This author believes that the Dutch passed the Mammoth Act 50 years too late; had it been passed in the 1910s along the constructs of the Unification Commission's recommendations, the Dutch would have had at least a secondary framework from which to begin educational reform. Yet there are those people in the Netherlands who argue that the Mammoth Act was implemented much too early. Neither of these viewpoints contains the answer to why the Act proved ineffective. By examining political, economic and societal determinants dating back from the turn of the century to the 1960s, one can identify multitudinous reasons for the Act's ultimate limitations and ineffectiveness. These reasons are largely of a historical nature, are interwoven, and evolved out of the contradictions inherent in Dutch society.

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[1] Dodde, Verandert, 56-57. See also N. Gross et al, Implementing Organizational Innovations: a sociological analysis of planned change (New York: Basic Books, 1971) and M. Fullan, The meaning of Educational Change (Toronto: OISE Press, 1982).

A. THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNIFICATION COMMISSION REPORT

To analyze the reasons for the ineffectiveness of the Mammoth Act to reform the Dutch secondary educational system one needs to commence with the recommendations of the 1910 Unification Commission's Report. One reason for the ineffectiveness of the Act was that it was rooted in the recommendations of this 1910 Report that in 1963 was over half a century old and in turn was based on a 19th century world view. Some comparisons between the Report and the Mammoth Act establish this point quite clearly. One area that the Mammoth Act virtually copied from the Unification Commission is the names of divisions of the various levels and categories of education. The differences between the duration of educational levels are also quite slight. The idea of a bridge year was also included in the Unification Commission's recommendations and became one of the major reforms of the Mammoth Act. Table 16 below indicates numerous comparisons between the two.

TABLE 16: POINTS OF COMPARISON

	Unification Commission	**Mammoth Act**
Division of level	LAVO	LAVO
	MAVO	MAVO
	VHO	VWO
	HO	HO
		BO
Bridge Year	Two Year	One Year
Program Length	Six years	Six/five years
	Five Years	Five years
	Four years	Four years

Evidently the similarities between the two are considerable. The basic variation between the Unification Commission and the Mammoth Act was that the latter had the BO or vocational education included whereas the Unification Commission had no thought of combining the two types of secondary education programs. The very idea that vocational education could be on par with academic education never entered the minds of those involved with the Unification Commission. Nevertheless, the Mammoth Act largely was based on the fundamental ideas of the Unification Commission. Obviously the educrats and those in parliament in the 1960s clearly believed that staying with the known and familiar was simpler than to be innovative and progressive.

B. THE PACIFICATION AGREEMENT

The 1917 Pacification Agreement also was a substantial factor for the ineffectiveness of the Mammoth Act to implement educational reform. The Constitution was revised because of the Pacification Agreement and this in large measure is the reason for the increasing complexity of the educational system during the 20th century. Article 208 of the 1917 Constitution reads as follows:

> Education shall be an object of constant solicitude on the part of the government.
>
> The imparting of education shall be free, saving superintendence by the authorities, and moreover, in so far as general education, primary as wel [sic] as secondary, is concerned, saving the examination with regard to the ability and morality of the teachers, the whole to be regulated by law.
>
> Public education shall be regulated by law, every person's religious views being duly respected.
>
> In every municipality the authorities shall impart sufficient public general education in an adequate number of schools. According to rules to be laid down by law, deviation from this provision may be permitted, provided that opportunity is given for such education to be received.
>
> The standards of efficiency to be prescribed for education to be defrayed wholly or in part from public funds shall be regulated by law,with due observance in so far as private education is concerned, of freedom of direction.
>
> These standards shall be regulated for general primary education in such a manner as to guarantee equally well the efficiency of the private. The cost of education shall be entirely from public funds and public education.

> In these regulations the freedom of private education concerning the choice of means of instruction and the appointment of teachers, shall, particularly, be respected. Private general education fulfilling conditions to be imposed by law shall be defrayed from public funds according to the same standards as public education. The conditions upon which private general secondary education and preparatory university education shall be granted contributions from public funds shall be fixed by law.
> The King shall cause a report on the condition of education to be made annually to the States-General.[2]

Obviously Article 208 established financial parity of public and private schools, regulated that education reports be tendered annually, and ended the financial educational struggle that had existed for nearly 100 years. The freedom of curriculum however was constrained by examinations, certification, the teacher pupil ratio, teachers' salaries and everything that accompanies administering a school. As noted in Article 208 spiritual diversity was an individual right and the state did not insist on political or religious conformity; in that regard the Agreement was quite advanced: many states still do not have financial parity between their private and public systems. However, this type of equality led to other problems. One can argue that the Agreement intensified the religious, political and social cleavages inherent in Dutch society. While intending to provide educational financial parity the Pacification Agreement inadvertently created a far more segmented society and intensified the functionalism that had existed before 1917, in fact it now legally confirmed the societal cleavages that had been initiated in the 12th century that by the mid 19th century had resulted in the quadripartite division of society discussed throughout this study. The Agreement legally split the system into various compartments with a subdivision between religious denominations - Roman Catholic and Protestant on the one hand - and political ideologies - liberal and socialist - on the other. Included in the public sector were those who held non-traditional religious beliefs such as Lutheranism, Anabaptism and Judaism. The secular public and denominational private systems after the Pacification Agreement now stood like monolithic entities, no longer competing financially in an ideological struggle that has not yet ended, but still competing with their differing world views and their own agendas. In the Netherlands public education as of 1917 meant a system established and maintained by a municipal administration with state financial support. Private education, on the other hand, was established or founded by and administered by particular associations, organizations or foundations but also government funded. Denis Kallen writes that this functionalism or "pillarization":

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[2] Dutch School System 7. The translations and spelling are directly from this source. The underlining is mine and is used to indicate the important passages. By King the document meant monarch, the Dutch have had queens, Wilhelmina, Juliana and Beatrix, for all of the twentieth century. Beatrix's son Willem Alexander will be the first Dutch male monarch in over a hundred years.

> holds a profoundly divided nation together in a carefully balanced legal and organisational structure that leaves everybody - i.e. every "*zuil*" or "column" - free in respect of everything concerning his "principles" and "inner convictions", thanks to an unbelievably complex set of jealously defended rights and guarantees on the one hand, to a meticulously developed, and zealously applied system of rules for financing, management and control on the other.[3]

The Dutch supervised or invigilated both systems by the State concerning leaving examinations, proficiency of the system, qualifications and standards, and also the morality of the teachers and instructors. The system required that a teacher possess a diploma that testified to good character. Seemingly each school had freedom of establishment, freedom of direction and organization or structure if it abided by the educational laws. Initially it seems that there was little variance between the two systems but the public and private categories were quite distinct, and ultimately resulted in increased social and religious stratification. Thus the intensification of functionalism resulted from the passage of the Mammoth Act and led to everyone being placed in a specific political, social and economic category that had distinct boundaries.

To understand this functionalism more clearly the Dutch world view of each system will be examined for this indicates the wide gulf that separates the society.[4] According to the Dutch Roman Catholic world view the educational system was a workplace for humanity with an emphasis on the individual who was a creation of God, and returned to God. The Dutch Roman Catholics also saw the school as augmenting and extending the continuing role of parental guidance; the school was merely an extension of the parental role. The world view of Dutch Protestants supplemented this; they believed that parents should have the sole right to send children to schools of their choice, and that the State should not be involved in any way in such a crucial decision. The main aim of Christian education was to acquaint the students with the word of God in which He spoke to a listening humanity. The Dutch Protestant also believed that living a righteous life was a guide to the future, that the structure God has created can be extended, that the care and quality of life were imperative and that good human relations should be protected. Finally, the multifaceted areas of human knowledge, the Dutch Protestants believed, created the differences of people within a society. However, besides this religious perspective there were also political ideologies in the Netherlands with a very different world view and these clashed with the religious perspectives causing the chaos that derives from functionalism. Dutch Liberals believed in freedom of individuals and thought that retention of this freedom was only possible if schools with this orientation were in place. The Socialist group focussed on social equality; they believed that they should accord everyone equal opportunity in education.

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[3] Kallen, 22.

Substructures that mirrored the "pillarization" supported this strong differentiation internally. For example, each school, whether denominational or politically oriented, had its own organizations, media, education, health care, youth clubs, sports activities, choirs, and social clubs to perpetuate the values of the sector. To illustrate, from 1914 to 1956 the numbers of Roman Catholic organizations increased from 13.7 per cent to 21.5 per cent in 1956.[5] These organizations were involved with Catholic education, the Catholic media, Catholic youth forming, Catholic health care, the Catholic business sector, the Catholic trade unions, and Catholic sports and culture. The Protestant Christians had a similar supporting substructure but retained its percentage level that only varied from 23.6 per cent in 1914 to 23.8 per cent in 1956.[6] Nevertheless, the denominational sectors comprised a significant part of the total population.

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[4] See Hans Daalder, "The Netherlands: Opposition in a Segmented Society," Political Opposition in Western Democracies, Robert A. Dahl, ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966): 188- 236 and Lijphardt for more information on this unique social system.

[5] J.P. Kruyt and W.Goddijn, "Verzuiling en ontzuiling als sociologisch proces." [Pillarization and depillarization as a sociological process] in Drift en koers: een halve eeuw sociale verandering in Nederland [Current and Course: A half century of social change in the Netherlands] A.N.J. den Hollander et al., eds., (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962):

The liberal and socialist groups in the organizational "pillarization" generally have maintained a smaller percentage as groups but collectively have had an important place. Their combined percentages decreased from 56.8 per cent in 1914 to 47.3 per cent in 1956.[7] This structure of Dutch society abated somewhat in the 1970s but not significantly. There has not been a very strong, conscious effort by Dutch society to diminish this type of control over the educational system because then each group would lose status, prestige, and power. Surprisingly, the Dutch believed there was no need to change this "pillarization." The streaming and functionalism that are so alien to liberal ideology still take place in the 1990s so one can readily agree with Max Schuchart who argued in 1970 that:

> ... schools in the Netherlands are, first and foremost, sieves for selection and differentiation. The process of selection does not stop at first admittance, but goes on from day to day; those who do not live up to the school's standards will fail and eventually drop out. At the same time the school continues to cultivate the very same qualities that guide the selection process, such as technical competence in the trade schools and linguistic ability in the classically oriented *gymnasium*. Moreover, apart from the formally prescribed knowledge and skills, each school tends to pass on to its students a set of congruous cultural values and social manners. Thus the better command of a language attained through study at the higher secondary level of a *gymnasium* is not merely a scholastic accomplishment but an invaluable social asset as well, marking a person

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244, Table 36.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

> as being "educated" and thus raising his social credit. It is no wonder then that the stratification of schools into different levels runs closely parallel to the stratification of occupation. Small wonder therefore that the Dutch set great store by diplomas; it helps them, in an abstract and depersonalized way, to fit people into the right pigeonhole. [8]

Despite passage of the Mammoth Act, the Dutch educational system up to the 1970s, rooted as it was in a conservative 19th century world view, remaining unchanged rather than revitalized and modernized. A discussion about diplomas with one individual with three children in the system clearly illustrates the idea that everyone has to fit into a category. In one informal discussion one parent told this author that she was amazed that a person who held a Master's degree in business administration could additionally, in a part time job, function in a role as an assistant group leader in a disabled (mentally and physically) facility without a diploma for that particular position. The idea that students can only qualify in one area and require a diploma to do so verifies Schuchart's conclusion about the stratification of schools and occupations. Also, this suggests that some members of Dutch society are somewhat limited in their scope. Many Dutch sociologists and historians agree that the 1917 Pacification Agreement led to a greater increase in compartmentalization of the Dutch school system and consequently of Dutch society. S. Boef-van der Meulen and J. A.van Kemenade designated it as a vertical pluralistic construct of society based on ideology.[9]

The people controlling the private system used religion to expand the functionalist thrust of Dutch society and those controlling the ideological parties used the equality issue to gain control. Chart 46[10] suggests that the enrolment

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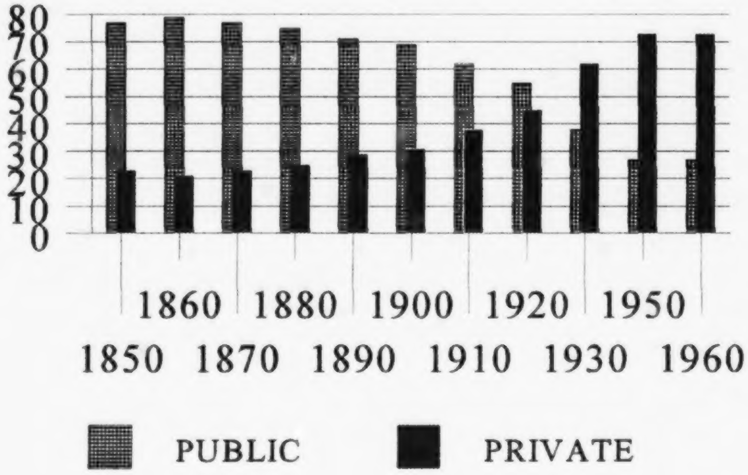
[8] Max Schuchart, The Modern Netherlands (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), 116-118.

[9] S. Boef-van der Meulen and J. A. van Kemenade , "Onderwijs en levensbeschouwing," [Education and Ideology] in "Onderwijs en samenleving" [Education and society] 2A in Onderwijs: bestel en beleid [Education, Policy and Administration], J.A van Kemenade et al., eds. (Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1986), 236.

[10] Source: CBS, (1966): 66, Table 14.

patterns in both types of schools changed drastically especially from 1920 to 1960 by which time most of the schools were in private hands as they still are in the 1990s, the public schools declined from 88 per cent to 27 per cent in a 90 year period. This is quite astonishing. The private schools obviously were the major beneficiaries of the Agreement but the private sector was not happy with the Agreement. Only five years after its implementation the Protestant Christian groups declared that the Pacification Agreement was not a blessing at all; they feared that they might lose some of their own power should the Ministry of Education gain greater jurisdiction over the private education system. To retain their traditional segmentation Dutch society became increasingly functionalist and this, according to most Dutch academics, certainly was due to the educational divisions.

CHART 46: PUBLIC/PRIVATE SCHOOL PERCENTAGES 1850-1960



After the passage of the Pacification Agreement four types of schools were offered legally in the educational system: public, Roman Catholic, Protestant Christian and private. At age six they enrolled the student in the school of parental choice and he or she stayed in that particular category of school until graduation. So at this early age the student knew exactly where he or she stood in relation to the rest of Dutch society. Everyone had a spot in the functionalist system. The four different educational environments resulted in four different types of instruction because each had their own ideologies. Each system had its own versions of history and religion that they taught according to their specific beliefs. The Dutch system did not have a state curriculum that each school followed; if they passed the state leaving examinations, the state did not interfere. This is the freedom that the Dutch cherished for in some ways it created the capacity for self expression and individualism.[11]

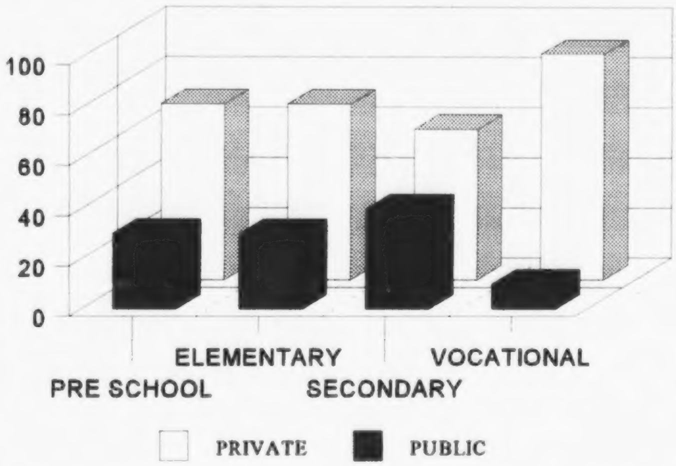


CHART 47: PUBLIC/PRIVATE PERCENTAGES 1970

C. SOCIETAL SEGMENTATION

Another problem in Dutch education is that the "pillarized" system did not ensure equality of opportunity; that is surprising for a country that has a perceived reputation for its insistence on individual liberties, the liberal approach to life and the tolerance that nearly every Dutch person likes to note especially to foreigners. However, the educational system discussed so far belies this very idea. The segmentation of the various social groups has resulted in a person's profession becoming the major factor in achieving a higher social status. Education in the Netherlands, at least up to the 1970s, could be considered a servant of the hierarchical class system that had been in place since the 19th century.[12] Undoubtedly the cleavages within Dutch society were exacerbated with this educational separation, and led to increasing and glaring divisions in culture, language, speech, values, fashions and lifestyle.[13] As Chart 47[14] illustrates, Ministry statistics show that the system in 1970 consisted mostly of private schools: 80% of pre school, 70% of elementary, 60% of secondary and 90% of vocational education.

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[11] The parental choice decreased significantly and became nearly negligible only after the 1970s when school choice was decided more by external factors. The Nederlandse Algemeene Bijzondere Schoolraad , NABS 1979, Netherlands General Private Schools Council, and the Nederlandse Katholiek Schoolraad, KNKSR, 1966 Netherlands Catholic School Council and the Nederlandse Protestants-Christelijke Schoolraad, NPCS, 1970 Netherlands Protestant Christian School Council have greater control over the school choices and intensified the functionalism.

[12] See Karstanje.

The "pillarization" became increasingly excessive and reached its zenith in the early 1970s when new unions, organizations and advisory institutes along "pillarized" lines were established in the 1970s.[15] Several powerful Councils, established between 1966 and 1979, have strong control over the system. To illustrate, The Nederlandse Algemeene Bijzondere Schoolraad, NABS, Netherlands General Private School Council, and The Nederlandse Katholieke Schoolraad, KNKSR, Netherlands Catholic School Council, and the Nederlandse Protestants-Christelijke Schoolraad, NPCS, Netherlands Protestant Christian School Council, have far greater control over school choice than the parents have. Although functionalism has abated slightly in the 1990s it is still a major component of Dutch society and to a great extent of Dutch education. The Ministry of Education, in a 1989 document entitled "Richness of the uncompleted" confirms this argument and states that the "role of compartmentalization declined in importance after the 1960s, but it is still clearly discernible in many fields. Education offers one of the most striking examples of this."[16] It would be correct to say that in many ways, especially in the educational system, the Dutch are still a functionalist nation.[17]

The insistence on excessive segmentation and structuring of Dutch society along these lines is certainly surprising for a country that prides itself on its supposed tolerant and progressive mentality. The country that many people, the

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[13] See Boef-van der Meulen and van Kemenade.

[14] Source: Molyneux and Linker, 47.

[15] For example, Christelijk Pedagogisch Studiecentrum, CPS, the Christian Pedagogical Centre was established in 1977. For Roman Catholic education the Hoger Katechetistisch Institute, Higher Cathecetical Institute, was founded in 1978.

[16] "Richness of the Uncompleted" 21.

[17] See W. P. Ruiter and F.A. van Vught, "Neo-functionalism in Recent Dutch Higher Education Legislation" European Journal of Education 25 no. 2 (1990): 219-231.

Dutch most of all, perceive as one of the most liberal in the world in reality has a complex, contradictory and a conventional societal viewpoint that it has maintained. The implosion of personal interests leading to diversity is integral to the experience of any society, but if it leads to pronounced divisiveness socially then change is called for. The fact that the Dutch refused educational change especially in the secondary system for more than 100 years is therefore very surprising.

D. SOCIETAL WORLD VIEW

The inherent conservatism that some of the critics of Dutch education allude to, is another reason that Dutch education remained stagnant for decades and accounts for the static state of the secondary educational system for more than 100 years. Undoubtedly some influential members of Dutch society were determined to retain the old system simply for tradition's sake. Since everyone fitted into their special category quite sufficiently there was no reason to recondition or reform any aspect of the society or of the educational system. After all, the societal structure had functioned proficiently since the 19th century and most of the educrats and parliamentarians abhorred the idea of what seemed to them as radical change. Another reason for the lack of change was that many Dutch people deemed that an extraordinary amount of educational change had already occurred throughout the 20th century. To illustrate, compulsory education was a huge adjustment for a society with a large agricultural sector. Being forced to send children to school imposed a labour shortage on the farming communities. The increasing industrialization imposed on the people required a shift in ideology that was alien but necessary. Although neutral the Dutch were affected socially, economically and politically by World War I. Then the state established a Ministry of Education that was quite an adjustment for many members of Dutch society and the Pacification Agreement also proved to be a tumultuous change. As J.G.L. Ackermans pointed out, the bitter feelings incurred by the lengthy struggle for financial equality between denominational and secular factions were strong reasons for the increasing conventionalism of Dutch society. People were tired of educational change and tired of the fighting that had occurred among the segments of Dutch society since the 1920s and 1930s. In addition, he argued that people were more concerned about their stakes in that struggle than with the way education and instruction should be viewed. Education thus was simply a pawn and the system became increasingly chaotic because of the financial equalization; this is certainly one of the ironies of Dutch educational history.[18] Finally, he stated that "the Dutch people's deepest convictions about life, was the chief reason why our educational system between the wars became static."[19] The culprit, he deemed, was the strong Dutch tendency toward conservatism. This supports this author's assertion that the Dutch hide behind a liberal veneer. It seems that the Dutch are so liberal that few things change.

E. NATIONAL ECONOMICS

Yet another reason for the stagnant educational system and the ineffectiveness of the Mammoth Act is the capricious economic situation that the Dutch have endured since the turn of the century. In the 1970s the government accorded the largest budget item in Dutch state expenditure to education that had in fact more than doubled from 1960 to 1971.[20] This statement is quite reflective of the importance the Dutch placed on education. Yet this was not always the case. The vicissitudes of the economic situation from 1913 to 1945 also were responsible for the stagnant system.

One of the reasons the government could not accept the Unification Commission's recommendations was the recession the Dutch experienced in 1913. In the 1920s discontent from all the political parties in the Netherlands concerned the financial allocations given to private schools. The Socialist segment, for example, complained that building private schools as required by the Pacification Agreement was too costly while the Liberals argued that building schools had become a national hysteria.[21] This indicates that finances were available but used selectively to aid the system rather than the students;

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[18] Having read considerable primary and secondary material on Dutch education one can concur with Ackermans. However having a vested interest in education is not unique to the period being discussed. Vested interests variously have controlled education throughout Dutch history and the same phenomenon has occurred historically in other countries.

[19] J.G.L. Ackermans, "Education in Transition," The New Era (April 1956): 105.

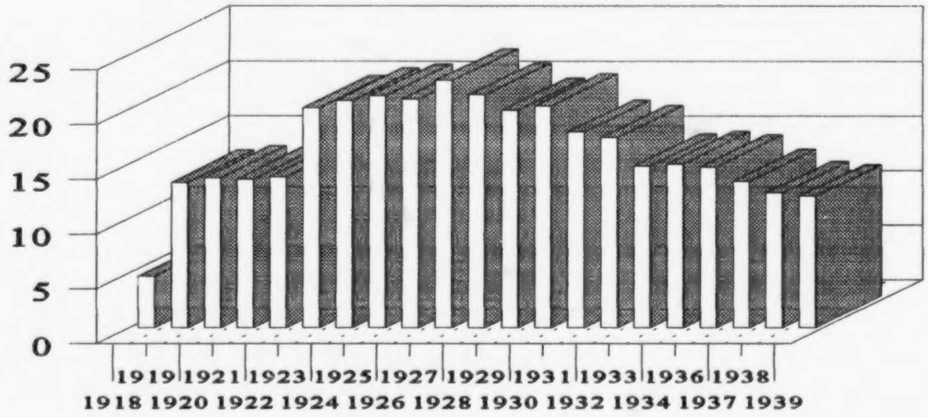
[20] See Frans Kaiser et al, "Public Expenditure on Higher Education: A Comparative Study in the EC-Member States, 1975-1990" Higher Education in Europe 17 no 1 (1992): 33-64.

[21] Aarts, 143.

new buildings received priority at the expense of the students. There was also a common fear that one minority group would be shortchanged because of the demands of another group. This thought became oppressive and certainly increased the antagonism among the groups.

Additionally, educational reform would have meant expending much needed resources when finances were scarce. Chart 48[22] illustrates the percentage of the national budget allocated to the Ministry of Education between 1918 and 1939. Again, the situation must be examined from a historical perspective. World War I, although the Dutch were neutral, caused an economic crisis. Then, a small depression occurred in 1920 just when they newly implemented the Elementary Education Act and all its ramifications. This was followed by a slight economic improvement in 1923. During the 1920s, despite the prolific building of new schools, cost cutting measures were introduced after 1928. For example the teacher student ratio increased to one teacher to 48 students in the elementary schools and one teacher to 30 students in the secondary schools.[23] The Great Depression of 1929 exacerbated the recession of 1925 and the financial expenditures allocated to education declined from 20

CHART 48: EDUCATION PERCENTAGE/
NATIONAL BUDGET 1918-1939



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[22] Source: CBS, (1979): 150, Table 65.

[23] N.L. Dodde, Nederlandse schoolwezen 2.

per cent in 1930, to 14.8 per cent in 1933, and to 12 per cent in 1939.[24] Obviously the continuous decrease in budgetary allocations did not allow for educational change. From 1931 to 1936 teacher salaries had decreased by 20 per cent.[25] To save the high cost of teachers' salaries, teacher training students did most of the teaching from 1933 to 1938. In addition, the teacher training program was shortened from four to three years. The industrial or technical school program was reduced by one year. All these cost cutting measures could only result in disastrous problems. Unfortunately for the Dutch, just as they were enjoying some economic prosperity in other sectors of society the Nazis invaded in 1940.

No one can doubt the serious economic repercussions of five years of Occupation. The Nazis, simply put, robbed the country shamelessly and economic devastation was evident everywhere especially once they made a tally after the war.[26] Nearly everything that was mobile, including the main method of transportation, the bicycle, was either taken to Germany or destroyed. The damage and destruction were unbelievably high and resulted in the Dutch having to start over from scratch economically, politically, and socially once their country was liberated. The Dutch had a massive task on their hands with their Reconstruction and this certainly hindered the adoption of any educational changes.

Another factor that affected the Dutch economy was the global decolonization that occurred after World War II. After having alienated the Amnericans and deleteriously harming their relationship with the United States of America in 1944 and 1945,[27] the Dutch government maintained its typical head in the sand approach and stubbornly resisted Indonesian independence. The Dutch retained their colonial mentality in large part because they had been heavily dependent on the economic resources of their empire and they fought this war long after any hope of victory had disappeared.[28] By resisting the inevitable they incurred their own financial expenditure on a struggle that was lost long before it began. To prevent Indonesian independence the Dutch allocated approximately one quarter of their national budget to defence during this period; obviously educational change could not be a priority. Only strong international pressure and intervention forced the stubborn Dutch to agree to Indonesian independence. This episode clearly proves that the Dutch, who claim they have a tolerant and liberal world view, were at odds with the times. These two interconnecting economic elements consequently were impediments to educational change. Sending thousands of troops to Indonesia and maintaining a war so shortly after the economically catastrophic World War II certainly contributed to a ruined economy.

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[24] A.M. van der Vring, De lagere-schoolwetten en de leerplicht van 1806-1949 [The lower school acts and the compulsory law from 1806-1949]. ('s-Gravenhage: R.K. Centraal Bureau voor Onderwijs en Opvoeding, 1949), 69.

[25] Ibid, 4.

[26] See any of the works in the material cited concerning World War II.

[27] See Jac. S. Hoek, Politieke geschiedenis van Nederland: *Oorlog en herstel* [Political history of the Netherlands: War and Reconstruction] (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1970), 97.

Because of decolonization, the influx of Dutch nationals from the former colonies seriously affected the education system. J. A. van Houtte writes that 250,000 people had to be incorporated into Dutch society.[29] The children had to be placed in the available schools and this contributed to a shortage of teachers and school buildings, many of which were in a state of disrepair due to the effect of World War II. In comparison to the defence budget, the education allocation was sparse as indicated in Chart 49.[30] A steady increase is only apparent after 1955. Obviously that was one reason why the educational system remained stagnant, it was the sacrifice until other factors improved. Besides fighting a colonial war, the Dutch immediately after the war were involved in inquests, in collaborationist trials and paid little attention to education. This episode was concluded by the mid 1950s after which the percentage of the total budget allocations to the Ministry of Education improved noticeably. The 1955 Pre Elementary Education and the 1960 University Act both required funding. The impressive percentage increase of nearly 100 per cent in educational expenditure from 1955 to 1960 was one reason why the Ministry could pass this legislation. Clearly before this the lack of adequate finances was a major contributor to the lack of educational reform.

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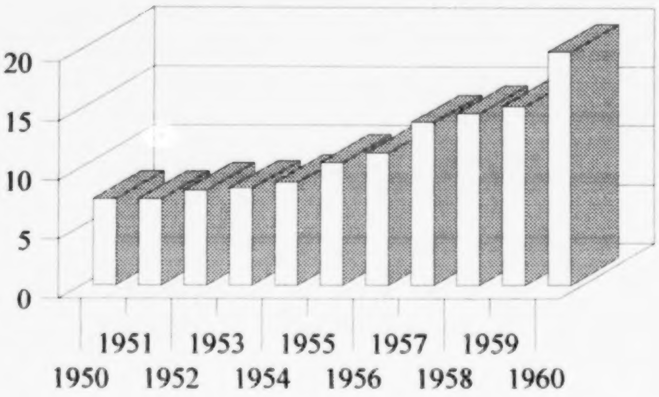
[28] This struggle did not terminate officially until 1962 when the Dutch recognized Indonesia. The Dutch experience has been extensively analysed by Louis de Jong who was commissioned by the government to write about the Dutch in war time. His often insightful conclusions were not well received by many Dutch people. There was a strong national debate for months after this publication appeared over his somewhat negative depiction of the Dutch mastery of Indonesia.

[29] See J.A. van Houtte, Economische en sociale geschiedenis van de lage lande. [Economic and social history of the Low Countries]. (Zeist: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1964).

[30] Source: CBS, (1979): 47 and 150, CBS, Mededelingen, (1981): 1 Table 66.

CHART 49: EDUCATION PERCENTAGE/ NATIONAL BUDGET 1950-1960



F. THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

1. The Pre-War Period

Without a doubt a major reason for the ineffectiveness of the Mammoth Act was the inability of the educrats in the Ministry of Education to accept that the Netherlands had modernized and entered the 20th century. Various factors were at play in the failure of the Ministry to develop, modernize and play a proactive role in the Dutch educational system. The educational community was continuously faced with the stagnant policies provided by the Ministry of Education since the government established it on 25 September 1918. The Minister of Education took over the task that traditionally had been the responsibility of the Minister of the Interior. The government established the Education Ministry on the premise that its task was, one, to prepare a sound educational law sometime in the future, and two, to facilitate and regulate the financial equity guaranteed by the Pacification Agreement. Educational restructuring and curriculum changes were left to the initiative of teachers and instructors. The idea that those in the teaching profession could work with the Ministry was never considered. This certainly was deleterious for those expecting educational change. In time the alienation caused those in the profession to declare that the Ministry actually was isolated from the educational community and played a role outside the system, by creating unnecessary administrative work for the educrats who in reality accomplished very little.

However, the Ministry of Education had not enjoyed an auspicious beginning in 1918. One reason for the initial lack of progress was that the government and other departments deemed the Education Ministry insignificant compared with the seemingly more important Ministries of Finance, Defense and Economics. Since the Ministry was not considered too important when it was established, the government wanted the Education Ministers to cause as little stir as possible. A closer examination of the history of the Ministry verifies the argument as a result the educrats were tied into a straightjacket and destined to administer a mediocre educational system. In the 1920s the Dutch government only required that the Minister play the role of middle man between education and the government. The first Minister, J. Th. de Visser, was quite willing to play this role; he remained in the position for seven years knowing that the government did not want any waves. Since the Dutch as a society placed great value on elementary education the Minister had little problems with the passage of the 1920 Elementary Education Act that stayed in effect until 1985.The Annual Reports consulted for this study maintain that the 1920 Law was so thorough and all encompassing that more change would have been superfluous,[31] many Dutch academics concurred with this assessment. This attitude was another reason why the Dutch education system was stagnant for so many years. The general attitude was that this Act need not be tinkered with.

To be fair, political or economic circumstances often caused these conditions, but the educrats could have implemented and maintained a progressive policy or any planned, systematic policy for that matter. The educrats working in the Ministry after all, were professionals in the educational field and over the decades they should have employed their expertise to encourage progressive educational change. Some firm and direct leadership would have prevented the educational system from being detrimentally affected by the vagaries of societal determinants, whether political, social or economic. A strong minded education minister would have been beneficial.

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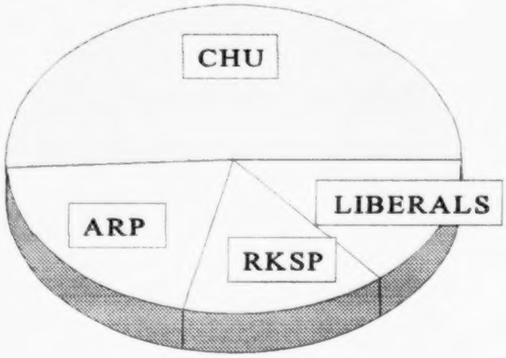
[31] See “Richness of the Uncompleted.”

Also, the Ministry was not immune from the "pillarization" that permeated Dutch society. From 1918 to the Nazi invasion on 10 May 1940, the religious parties controlled the Ministry; there is little doubt that this was done purposely. The reason is that the Dutch, because of the "pillarization," have coalition governments[32] and the appointment of Education Minister is not necessarily granted to the party that receives the most votes. The victorious political parties agree to the appointment by what the Dutch refer to as "The Compromise" after some debate - this is one of the most important elements of functionalism. This Compromise is crucial for it impacts significantly on the educational system. This factor becomes evident with the appointment of the Education Minister. As Dodde points out some the CHU and ARP Ministers presented no problems to the government.[33] Chart 50 that illustrates the percentages, and Appendix H - Ministers of Education - with the specific information regarding names political affiliations and tenures, becomes more clear if analyzed together.[34] Obviously the

CHART 50: MINISTRY POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS 1918-1940



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[32]See Lijphart.

[33]Dodde, Verandert 130.

[34]Source: P.J. Oud, Honderd Jaren, 1840-1940: Een eeuw van staatkundige vormgeving in Nederland [One Hundred Years, 1840-1940: One century of political composition in the Netherlands.] (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1979) 328.

denominational groups largely controlled the Ministry from 1918 to 1945. As Chart 50 indicates the political machinations meant that the CHU (Reform Church), which represented approximately 10% per cent of the electorate, was in control of the Ministry for 51 per cent of the 22 years and the other parties all served much less time. The ARP was in control 20.5%, the RKSP was 14.7% and the Liberals 13.9% or for only three years in total. The tenure of Liberal Minister Marchant was particularly problematic. Marchant was not a good choice because he favoured private education and his cost cutting measures weakened the position of the public schools. Moreover, no one appreciated his intentions once he converted to Roman Catholicism.[35] The Liberals again faced adversity because they were in control of the Ministry of Education when the Nazis invaded in 1940. Minister G. Bolkestein remained Minister of Education while the government was in exile. Before the war the Socialists did not agree with the government's orientation or world view and by 1939 had decided that since they could not change the situation they would rather refrain from nominating an Education Minister. This self defeating attitude not only meant that the religious parties controlled education but that the Socialist party was quite content simply to let the system stagnate. One cannot exonerate the Socialists for their irresponsibility. Their educational inertia and contradictory approach makes them as culpable as many of the other groups.

The political and denominational affiliations were only two of the reasons for this chronological delineation of pre war and post war history of the Ministry of Education, policy change was another. Immediately after the war the educrats at the Ministry reasserted their claim that educational change and renewal was not their responsibility, that educational innovation and restructuring had to come from the teachers and instructors. The pre World War II policy was concerned primarily with its jurisdiction over a distributieve onderwijs beleid, distribution of finances and maintaining educational laws. The governance style in the 1960s quite clearly changed after the Mammoth Act and became what Philip Idenburg described as, constructieve onderwijs beleid, constructive educational policy, although it might be better characterized as a centralized policy rather than constructive. Idenburg was the first Dutch academic to discuss this change in academic circles.[36] He described the Ministry as having functioned in these two types of policy since it had been established. Nevertheless, the post war centralization resulted in the private groups' complaints over the interference of the Ministry with private teachers' appointments and the standardization of lesson-plans and lectures at public schools. The Ministry confirmed the centralizing development but seems to hold other factors responsible for the stagnant system. A Ministry document states that:

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[35] Ibid, 272.

> Until the Second World War, the government's responsibility for education was confined to financial and administrative matters.
> Governments left questions of education theory and practice to the teaching profession. Post-war governments, from 1960 onwards in particular, pursued a more constructive education policy, attempting to bring about change and innovation from above. However, their ability to affect genuine reforms were restricted by statutory regulations, financial and economic circumstances and whether or not the education world was willing to cooperate. Attempts to intervene yielded no more than limited results. Moreover, the economic recession of the late 1970s affected the education budget as well as other areas of public spending. The view gained ground that central government intervention was not sufficiently effective. Prevailing social and political opinion began to favour decentralisation, privatisation and rolling back the frontiers of government.[37]

This quotation indicates the various elements at work that hindered progressive reform. The Dutch idea that a Ministry of Education and education itself are two separate entities are also pointed out. It also confirms this author's argument that the system has been sabotaged, that various components in the functionalist system prevent the system from modernizing. A review by the OECD in 1970 verified this statement for it was quite critical of both the Ministry's approach and the lack of cohesion in the system that the Mammoth

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[36] See P.J. Idenburg, "Naar een constructieve onderwijspolitiek" [Toward a constructive educational policy] Pedagogische Studiën 47 (1970): 1-18.

[37] "Richness of the Uncompleted," 31.

Act had failed to rectify.[38]

2. The Post War Period

Emphasizing again that the war had a major impact on Dutch education, one quickly realizes that the history of the Ministry of Education varied considerably from the pre war stage. One change was that each Minister tried to carry out renewal and reform but without much luck as indicated throughout this study. To analyze this half of the Ministry of Education's history and its impact on the failure of the Mammoth Act many national determining factors need to be examined. National political developments immediately after the war played an important role in the educational system and definitely affected the Ministry's mandate. The post war era saw the impetus for restructuring and renaming of some political parties and this definitely affected the attempted educational innovations. One important political development was the coalition of the Catholic and Socialist parties as a government from 1945 to 1952.[39] Immediately after the war things changed slowly as the government placated people with a swift return to the way things had been before the war, but change occurred in 1946. As indicated in Appendix O - Political Parties II - some political parties had amalgamated and created a wider spectrum of voter affiliation in the post World War II period. For example, the Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA) Labour Party, was created in 1946 from a combination of three older parties: the socialist Social Democratische Arbeiderspartei (SDAP) of 1894, the left leaning liberal Vrijzinnig Democratische Bond, (VDB), of 1901 and the confessional Christelijke Democratische Unie (CDU) of 1926.[40] A political name change was also important. The Roman Catholics, RKSP, changed their name and became the Katholieke Volkspartij (KVP) in 1946. Only the Anti-Revolutionaire Partij (ARP) of 1879 and Christelijke Historische Unie (CHU) of 1896 retained their original names.[41]

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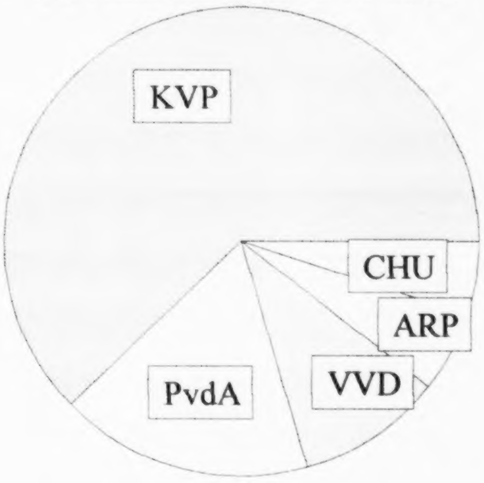
[38] Review van het onderwijsbeleid in Nederland: Verslag en vragen OESO - Rapportage [Review of educational administration in the Netherlands: Report and Questions] (Paris: OECD,
1990), 15.

[39] P.W. Klein, G.N. van der Plaat, J.C.H. Blom and the other contributors to Herrijzend Nederland:opstellen over Nederland in de periode 1945-1950 [Reconstructed Netherlands: plans about the Netherlands during the period 1945-1950] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), succinctly discuss the political developments in the post war period.

[40] Refer to Chapter III for some background information on these parties.

Ministerial appointments also reflected this political shift. This is illustrated in Chart 51[42] that provides the percentages of the length of time each party held power in the Ministry of Education and unlike the pre World War II period when it was the dominant party, the Christian CHU was only in power for five per cent of the time. This was a major shift but led the way to some much needed reform. Rather, the Catholic KVP was in power 62.3% of the time and the socialist PvdA 17.4%, the ARP administered the Ministry 5.4% of the time and the VVD ran it 9.9% of the time. The KVP and the PvdA generally worked together in coalitions in the post war period. In the Netherlands they term this the Rooms-rode samenwerking, the Red-Roman coalition. Quite clearly the KVP and the PvdA coalition controlled the Ministry for the longest periods after the war. Although the KVP was responsible for legislative change, it was neither progressive nor favourable to effective pedagogical change. The PvdA, on the other hand, during its tenure, was not

CHART 51: MINISTRY POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS 1945-1982



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[41] Some defectors from the KVP claimed that the time for confessional parties was a thing of the past and created the Politieke Party Radikalen PPR, Political Party Radicals in 1968. In addition, some ex-members of the PvdA established the DS70 Democratisch Socialisten, Democratic Socialist Party.

[42] See Appendix H- Ministers of Education - for the specific dates.

responsible for legislative change but was quite aggressive in modernizing the secondary system. It is not surprising then that educational change was ineffective and that the system did not change until the 1980s and 1990s with van Kemenade's tenure. The PvdA was more concerned with equality in all aspects of education than it was in focussing on perpetuating the societal categorizations and classifications that the KVP maintained and that permeated Dutch society.

Voting patterns of the Dutch are thus worth examining, however perfunctorily. Due to the proliferation of political parties in the Netherlands only coalitions created governments; there was never a majority party. The KVP was the largest party with approximately 30 seats in the 1946, 1948 and 1952 elections and in 1956, 59, and 1963 when 150 seats were available they claimed an average of 50, one third, showing strong support for this ideology.[43] The other political parties were much too small to be very important so a government certainly would not have chosen a minister from these parties. After the war the Liberals increased their numbers from six seats in 1946 to nine seats in 1952, 13 seats in 1956 and 22 seats in 1972. The ARP and CHU stayed stable with 12 and eight seats for the ARP and until 1956 and 14 in 1972.[44] The CHU, on the other hand, declined from 12 seats in 1963 to seven in 1967 and 1972 respectively. Consequently not until the coming of the Pais Ministry was a chance found to develop a less traditional, more pragmatic liberal education policy. Quite clearly national political developments have a direct bearing on the educational system.

Another post war contributing factor to the ineffectiveness of the Ministry of Education was that the meagre and ever decreasing state financial allocation to education resulted in what could be termed a financial system shut down, resulting in no change thus no improvement. For many years the system seemingly sailed along on its own. The nearly stationary government expenditures as shown in Chart 49 earlier in this chapter verify that this was the case at least until the late 1950s.

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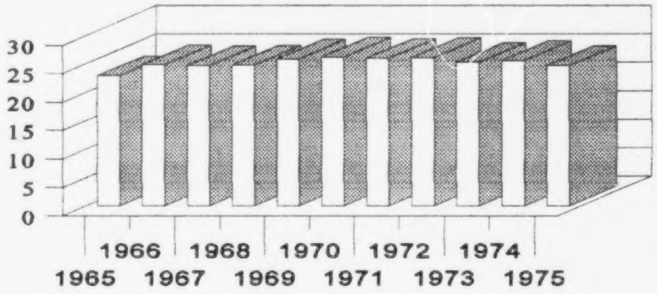
[43] Dodde, Verandert, 131

[44] The KVP, APP, and CHU merged in 1980 to become the Christian Democratic Appél.

Only after the end of the Reconstruction period was a noticeable improvement made in the allocation to education: the educational percentage of the national budget stood at 7.3 per cent in 1950.[45] This doubled in the1960s and then increased in the mid 1970s to such an extent that the Netherlands could claim that the largest percentage of its national budget was apportioned to education.[46] This is illustrated in Chart 52.[47] The Dutch seemed to think that throwing money at education without systematic planning or adequate forethought would mean improved educational results; that this was not so surprised many people. Had the educrats in the Ministry used some foresight and a more realistic view of the system immediately after the war, the Dutch might have realized that the needless duplication and similarities of programs were the culprits behind the expenses. Education Minister van Kemenade indicated that more proficient planning and restructuring, for example reducing the numbers of years per program, had to be considered seriously. Oddly enough, the Dutch held the economic situation rather than their inept policies such as needless class repeating and schools with single programs responsible for their educational difficulties in the 1970s. Only during the 1970s was reducing expenditure imperative, and even then external

CHART 52: EDUCATION PERCENTAGE NATIONAL BUDGET 1965-1975



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[45] CBS, (1981): 1, Table 66.

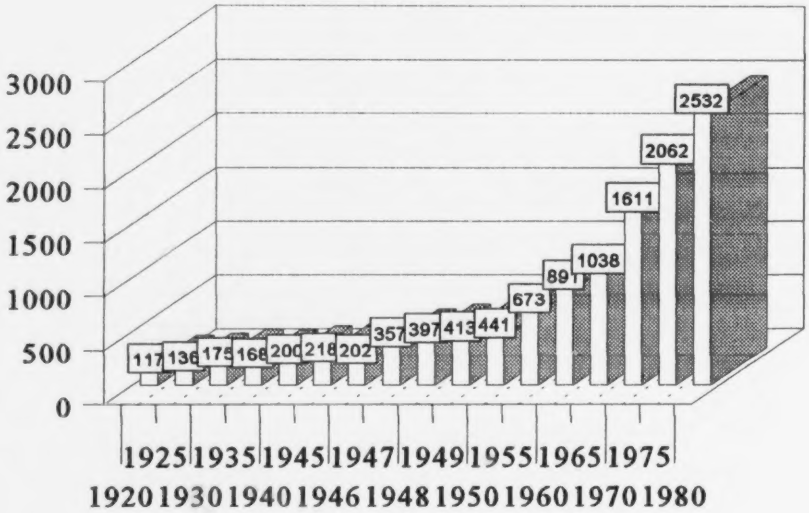
[46] An economic crisis due to the OPEC Oil embargo and the Dutch support of Israel resulted in a diminished, although still quite high, allocation to education throughout the 1970s. An economic crisis due to the OPEC Oil embargo resulted in economic difficulties for the Netherlands therefore a reduced budget for education as indicated in the chart above.

[47] See Frans Kaiser, et al.

forces were held responsible.[48]

Another factor that affected the educational system was the significant yet unproportionate increase in Ministry personnel. The amazing growth of personnel proved costly and by the 1970s and 1980s hindered the economic viability of Dutch education. In 1918 when the Ministry was established Minister de Visser's staff numbered a total of 92 people.[48] An examination of Chart 53[49] illustrates that the numbers of Ministry personnel from 1920 to 1945 increased nearly 100 per cent with only a slight decrease during the economically turbulent 1930s. Even more surprising is that although the educational system was stagnant from a reform perspective the personnel figures at the Ministry incredibly rose yet another 100 per cent in the 1945 to 1950 post war period which was surprising because of the tight financial allocations granted to the Ministry. No doubt the increase in population caused the Ministry to require more functionaries, but the amazing personnel

CHART 53: MINISTRY PERSONNEL INCREASES 1920-1980



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[48] See J.A. van Kemenade, "The cost of higher education cannot continue to rise unchecked," Western European Education 7 no. 3 (1974): 46-59. Oddly enough the budget allocation for education increased.

[48] Dodde, Verandert 133.

[49] Source: Ibid, 134-135.

increase from 1950 to 1980 totalled more than 500 per cent.[50] The point behind all these figures is not so much that there was an increase, but one would expect that with this much expertise at the Ministry's disposal the Mammoth Act could have been more effective. One would think that educational lawyers, accountants, and educational consultants could have contributed positively rather than merely administratively, to modernizing the system. With such a large staff the Ministry could have provided more proficient administrative practices but this did not occur; the opposite was the result. The talents of these people combined should have created a proactive policy rather than reverting to reactive methods. The increase is certainly indicative of greater state intervention in the educational arena. It is not surprising that when the Ministry tried to become actively involved in pedagogical change, especially in the 1970s, the staff expansion hit the stratosphere. [51] To be fair one cannot single out the Ministry for this expansion because the increase in Ministry personnel parallelled the other government departments' growth. Its excessive bureaucracy makes the fact that the Netherlands is a functionalist state obvious and is substantiated by Johan Goudsblom who pointed out that:

> The number of public employees has grown from 20,000 in 1850 to 400,000 in 1955, or from 1.6 per cent to 9.5 per cent of the total labor force. Concurrently, the percentage of national income devoted to government expenditures rose from 5 per cent in 1850 to 10 per cent in 1910, to 15 per cent in 1930, and to 25 per cent in 1960.[49]

Due to the constructive or centralized role of the Ministry of Education and the increase in student population a professionalization of the educrats resulted in more staff to keep the Ministry functioning smoothly. However, with the Dutch penchant for classification and with an increase in various divisions in the Ministry, each with its own director, there is no doubt that this resulted in some empire building.

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[50] Ibid, 134.

[51] Yet in comparison the Inspectorate, a branch of the Ministry, has not increased its personnel all that much since it was founded. In fact this branch of the Ministry of Education has not even added 100 inspectors to the branch since 1920.

[49] Goudsblom, 76.

When this author visited the Ministry a number of times in 1992 for research purposes, the rigid boundary of the job classification and distinct responsibilities of each position was rapidly made clear. For example, a question was asked concerning foreign publications. The response was that no one could answer this question because the person responsible for answering the inquiry was on holiday and the question would be left on that person's desk to be answered by mail three weeks later. It seemed odd that of the more than 2,000 people in the Ministry only one person could or was allowed to answer the inquiry. This is functionalism at its zenith and ultimately proves to be a very ineffective administrative practice. No doubt considerable problems occur if staff is absent, not only for researchers but for staff members themselves. Cross training several people in various aspects of numerous positions and responsibilities might be more efficient; some overlap can be beneficial and prove economically viable. For a sector, however small, to halt because of absence is ludicrous in this modern age. To have such narrow parameters in a bureaucracy is deleterious, not only for the person involved but for the Ministry as well.[50]

The second half of the Ministry's history after the war can be divided into four phases according to Dodde. He arrived at this conclusion to detect exactly when the Ministry changed from a distributive to a constructive policy. By analyzing the number of instances education was mentioned in the throne speeches from 1945 to 1979 he concluded that the first phase, from 1945 to 1950 was concerned with financial and administrative considerations.[51] During this phase, the government allocated 7.1 per cent of the total budget to education.[52] The second phase from 1950 to 1957 focussed on the Ministry's interest in educational legislation.[53] The passage of three Acts verifies this, one at each educational level as seen in Appendix M -Educational Legislation to 1970. The third stage was short, from 1959 to 1966, and characterized by the passage of the Mammoth Act. Simultaneously this phase set the stage for future expansion and improvement of the Dutch education system. Due to the so-called baby boom, which was a worldwide occurrence, the school enrolment figures increased significantly. The post elementary system had 27.2 of the 12 to 25 year olds in 1950; this figure increased to 33.6 per cent in 1955 and to 41.9 per cent in 1960.[54] The Ministry responded by building more schools. During the fourth stage that Dodde deemed to be from 1966 to 1977, the government and the Ministry finally realized Dutch education required restructuring and modernization to make the system effective and to bring it into the 20th century.[55]

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[50] That is not to say that the staff in the Ministry was not helpful; on the contrary. The primary source material used for this study was lent to me quite willingly and the many publications they freely gave me are irreplaceable from a research perspective. The staff was quite kind during my time there and I am grateful for their useful suggestions. It is the system as it was functioning in 1992 that is awry.

[51] The Netherlands has had 15 different governments from 1945 to 1980.

[52] Dodde, Verandert 136.

The fact that bureaucratic rather than pedagogic concerns drove the Ministry was of course the major flaw throughout its history. As late as 1990 an assessment of the Ministry of Education by an OECD sponsored initiative, suggested that the Ministry needed to modernize. The Ministry responded in a document entitled Review van het onderwijsbeleid in Nederland: Verslag en Vragen [Review of Educational Policy in the Netherlands: Report and Questions] in bureaucratic, governmentese language that sanitized the criticisms.[56] It took note of many of the detrimental elements described throughout this study, and indicated that change was forthcoming. The fact that significant change has occurred since the Report appeared is a positive development and clearly illustrates that the Ministry is trying to eradicate its traditionally inept policies. But it is only fair to note at least up to 1970 the Ministry was held in a straightjacket because "so many rules, agreements and conventions govern the system that it is extremely difficult for any Minister or administration to change its course significantly in their maximum of four years' lifetime."[57]

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[53] Refer to Charts 48, 49, and 52 to see the financial allocations in the various stages.

[54] Dodde, Verandert 139.

[55] See N.L. Dodde, "Nederlandse onderwijspolitiek 1945-80," Pedagogisch Tijdschrift 5 (1980): 273-293.

[56] See Ministry of Education: Review van het onderwijsbeleid in Nederland: Verslag en vragen: OESO Rapportage [Review of Educational Policy in the Netherlands: Report and Questions: OESO Report] (1990).

G. CULTURAL VARIANCES

Another reason why the Mammoth Act was ineffective was its orientation towards a monolithic ideology, based on white, Dutch nationals and it excluded a growing foreign sector of the Dutch population. The Dutch simply did not anticipate any societal changes. The chronology of the Act indicated that after a decade of preparations, it passed in 1963, was implemented in 1968 and fully completed by 1974. The immigrants and guest workers should have fit into the system without complications. The educrats did not use foresight, the cultural change was clearly evident in the early 1960s but was simply not considered because it did not fit in with the functionalist mind set, only later was this population diversity acted upon. These multicultural elements were not included mainly because the Act was based on a 19th century conservative world view that excluded a multicultural perspective.

The Dutch experienced two waves of cultural change before the Mammoth Act was implemented completely in 1974, but these changes were ignored simply because the educrats were inept in this area and remained ignorant of the rapidly evolving classroom population.[58] Cultural changes first occurred after World War II long before the Act was even contemplated. The Indonesian independence movement meant that people were repatriated and integrated into Dutch society. This did not create major problems for the students' educational progress because the children from Indonesia spoke Dutch and had experience with the Dutch educational system.[59] However, some children who had been released from Japanese war camps had difficulty adjusting because they had been away from the Dutch language and education system for many years. Many people from Surinam moved to the Netherlands as well but the Mammoth Act made no provision for these changes.[60]

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[57] Kallen, 23.

[58] Several years ago when Doug Main was the Minister of Multiculturalism in the province of Alberta, Canada his Dutch counterpart visited him in Edmonton and asked for advice on how to integrate the various cultures into the Dutch educational community. Main told him that there was no difference between one culture and another, that all should have equal rights and opportunities. Whether or not the Dutch Minister agreed with him is unknown. Source: Informal interview with Doug Main, May 1992.

The second wave came in the early 1960s after which the Netherlands became a pluralistic society. The Mediterranean influx began in the 1960s as a response to the Dutch need for guest workers: people from Italy, Spain and Portugal came in 1964, Greeks arrived in 1966 and Moroccans in 1969.[61] This ingression ultimately affected education but this was not addressed within the Ministry of Education until it became problematic indicating again that the Ministry was reactive rather than proactive. In time this pluralism created considerable tension, both racial and social in the 1970s. The Dutch educrats eventually made educational changes to accommodate the pluralism, but not until 1978 and 1979 by which time they had no choice but to address the issue. This late date again suggests that the Dutch are neither as liberal, tolerant nor as progressive as they claim. Some classes had more than half foreign students that created severe problems. In 1979 for example there were 13,683 non-Dutch pupils enrolled in pre school, in elementary education 31,739 were non-Dutch, 3,266 in general preparatory, 7,856 in lower or elementary level vocational school, 202 in secondary vocational education, 145 in post secondary vocational education and only 197 in academic education.[62] The situation changed significantly by 1985/86 when 136,276 non Dutch students were enrolled; in fact, of "the 8,401 primary schools, 47% have no pupils of non-Dutch nationality; 39% have 0-10% , while 1% have over 60%."[63] While the numbers seem rather small in comparison to the total school population, the problems created by this infusion led to disproportionate and considerable dissension within Dutch society. Had this element been dealt with, had the Mammoth Act been proactive, if some provisions been made for integrating these immigrants into the system the Mammoth Act might have had some effect. If the educrats had used some foresight, if cultural change and population variances would have been included in the Mammoth Act, perhaps they could have prevented some of these tensions.

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[59] One Dutch national from Indonesia indicated to the author in an informal discussion that the major differences that were noticeable were the small distances in the Netherlands and the weather, the educational adjustments in fact were quite negligible.

[60] See Louis de Jong, Nederland in Oorlogstijd, 1990, concerning the Indonesian independence struggle.

[61] C. Cruson, "Buitenlandse arbeiders in Nederland" [Foreign workers in the Netherlands] in R. Appel, et al., eds., Taalproblemen van buitenlandse arbeiders en hun kinderen [Language problems of foreign workers and their children] (Muiderberg: Dick Coutinho, 1980), 14.

[62] Dodde, Verandert 100.

To accommodate this new element of Dutch society the educrats used various plans or models. The first was acculturation that quickly failed. Then a bicultural method was implemented; this also failed. Dutch society slowly evolved into an intercultural or multicultural system that is the system the Dutch use in the 1990s.[64] The point being made here is that with the recognition of Indonesian independence and the need for guest workers to serve as labour for the prospering economy, the educrats, being closely involved in governmental decision making, should have realized that this influx would have educational implications; they could have made some amendments before the implementation of the Mammoth Act. Simply ignoring this social phenomenon was not only inept but inexcusable. Surely someone in the Ministry could have used an egalitarian approach to the situation. It can be argued, on the other hand, that the Ministry of Education was quite efficient at using a reactive rather than a proactive governance style, at remaining unchanged rather than facing the reality of the 20th century.

H. SOCIETAL FACTORS

It would be unfair to hold the Ministry, politics, and economics entirely culpable for the regressive, antiquated educational system. Yet another factor is involved - the conservative desires of the Dutch populace. During the Reconstruction period after the war the Dutch people did not deem education as a priority. In 1945 the Nederlands Instituut voor de Publieke Opinie NIPO, Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion was established; subsequently a large number of public opinions polls were held. In these polls the Dutch people clearly indicated that Reconstruction, jobs, and a return to normalcy were their main objectives. J.C.H. Blom[65] studied these opinion polls and indicated that one opinion poll inquired what the government's primary focus should be in the reconstruction process. It is quite a striking observation that education was mentioned neither in any of the questions nor in any of the answers, some of which were open ended, which largely pertained to quality of life and the concerns of the workers. So the government scarcely had any choice but to follow the wishes of the people that it used as a guide for political survival. Renewal of education clearly was not a major determinant for Dutch society during the post war Reconstruction. However, this author was quite intrigued with the result of one opinion poll. The question posed was whether the war affected those polled and NIPO gradated this into yes, no, and none. Surprisingly only 33 per cent indicated in the affirmative, 62 per cent claimed it had no effect while five per cent said the war had no effect whatsoever.[66] However the people who were interviewed by this author concerning other research concerning the war generally regarded the war as a significant aspect of their lives; seemingly they had been affected in one way or another.[67] In fact, the war generation still divides events in their lives as pre and post World War II. Perhaps when responding to this particular opinion poll the Dutch were weary of the subject and simply wanted to get on with life.

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[63] The Dutch Educational System Docinform no. 322E (Zoetermeer: The Ministry of Education and Science, 1988), 23.2.

[64] J. Dronkers, "Onderwijs en sociale ongelijkheid" [Education and social inequality]in "Onderwijs en Samenleving," [Education and society]in Onderwijs Bestel en Beleid [Education, Policy and Administration] J.A. van Kemenade et al., eds., (Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1987): 2B: 42.

I. ALTERNATIVE EDUCATIONAL IDEAS

Nevertheless, there was a small opposing educational group active in the area of reform in the Netherlands during the early years of the century. The people who composed this group were concerned about the antiquated system and in a sense sabotaged the system with alternative education. Quantitatively these reformers did not make a tremendous impact, they were voices in the wilderness, some kernels of their ideas were slowly incorporated into Dutch education. This group of educational innovators, instructors, and teachers, and those strongly opposed to the Dutch national view of education, was largely responsible for the positive and liberating changes that finally occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

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[65] See Herrijzend Nederland, noted earlier in this chapter.

[66] Blom, 125-128.

[67] See Richardson. A large number of books concerning the war indicate other results also. The Annals 245 (May 1946) edition, for example, presents an entirely different account. See also the series by Louis de Jong.

The many attempts to rejuvenate the Dutch secondary educational system by national legislative action have been discussed in earlier chapters but the reform movement can be said to date from 1898 when D. Bos decried the "pillarization" imposed on the educational system.[68] He indicated the effects education could have on society, trade and business and argued that educators and the business community were ultimately serving each other's needs.[69] Working together, he believed, would be beneficial to all involved in education. However he was the only one who propounded this theory and he remained a lone figure whose advanced ideas were ignored.

The educational reform movement from a personal level can be said to have begun in the Netherlands in the 1910s. In 1919 Persoonlijkheid in wording [Individuality in Genesis] by Professor doctor Philip Abraham Kohnstamm, (1875-1951) the Director of the Nutsseminarium voor Pedagogiek [Society Seminarium for Pedagogy] was published and this was followed by his most famous work De nieuwe school [The New School] which was published in 1925. He was concerned with the functioning of the schools and had the idea that empirical research and experiments and an interdisciplinary approach should be applied to education. He can be said to be responsible for improving the intensity of academic education in the Dutch system. His influence was quite significant, especially at the elementary level.

Another reformer, Jan Ligthart (1859-1916), also tried to implement educational reform at his school in the Hague. His approach was to use teaching tools that had a relative connection to the subject at hand, using tools to construct a building that related to modern society would be a good example. However, his ideas did not reach a wide audience.

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[68] This is the same D. Bos mentioned in Chapter III.

[69] See D. Bos, Onze volksopvoeding (Groningen: Wolters, 1898).

The untraditional Maria Montessori (1870-1952)[70] schools were allowed to be established in the Netherlands and her evolutionary view of childhood demanded experimental pedagogy.[71] However, by the 1940s only 40 Montessori schools existed in the Netherlands; these do not even represent one per cent of the more than 8,000 elementary schools. Nevertheless, Montessori's pedagogical theories proved to be the stimuli for another Dutch reformer, Cornelis Boeke (1884-1966) who was unhappy with the idea that his taxes were supporting an educational system with which he vehemently disagreed.[72] He very firmly believed that the Dutch educational system did not adequately prepare pupils for the world beyond schooling; the gulf between the curriculum in Dutch schools and reality was far too great according to Boeke. Moreover, he abhorred the heavy emphasis on the categorization and organizational structure of Dutch education. The fact that Dutch educational programs were curriculum rather than child centered spurred him into action. He removed his children from the Montessori school[73] and created what he called a Werkplaatskindergemeenschap or Children's Workplace Community in 1929 at Bilthoven. He did not use the term "school." In this community the pupils were considered family, rather than pupils; teachers were called associate workers and pupils were named workers. Boeke's goal was to emulate reality as much as possible. In fact this idealist wished to create a closer relationship between the student and the practical element of education that he thought was missing in Dutch education. This caused him to create a system geared to individual needs to a much greater degree than the Montessori schools. Although individuality was prized in Boeke's community, there was some sense of unity among the students with the evening walks, the music lessons, and the communal work in the garden. The sharp divisions between subjects was one of his criticisms and he dealt with this by overlapping some subjects to indicate their interdependence. However Boeke was virtually isolated with his approach and his ideas did not extend to a broader group of educators mainly because one needed a charismatic personality to practise his approach successfully. Moreover, many Dutch educators viewed him as a radical and the educrats did not fairly judge his ideals. The Dalton Plan was also tried in the Netherlands due to Kohnstamm's initiative, but by 1938 only 38 of these schools had been established.[74] However, the Dutch educational community was not very receptive to Dalton schools. Not all the schools were alike and the concept seemed rather vague to the Dutch who could not adapt readily to the loose structure. The Dutch favoured the Montessori approach.

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[70] Montessori died in the Netherlands in May 1952.

[71] Quite a number of publications by Montessori are available at most libraries.

[72] See C.J.J.A. Morsch, Met de moed van de hoop: Studies over de vernieuwing van opvoeding, onderwijs en maatschappij in Nederland tussen 1930 en 1984 [With the spirit of hope: Studies concerning, childrearing education, and society in the Netherlands between 1930 and 1984] (Eindhoven: Greve, 1984), 19-70.

[73] Boeke and Montessori were acquaintances.

Leon van Gelder (1913-1981) was by far the most influential Dutch educational innovator. A teacher, instructor, and school psychologist, he was the supervisor of the Werkgemeenschap voor Vernieuwing van Opvoeding en Onderwijs [Community for Renewal of Child Rearing and Education]. He was influenced by Kohnstamm's theories and believed there was a definite relationship between the practical and theoretical elements of education. Van Gelder did not believe that educational reform could be carried out successfully by focussing merely on restructuring and reorganizing. He began with a macro perspective by dividing the structure into pre school for students aged three to seven, primary for students aged seven to 11, secondary for students aged 11 to 16 and tertiary levels for students over 18. This would have abolished the complex terminology that accompanied the Mammoth Act. He deemed pedagogical methods and curriculum to be the area of prime importance and wished to integrate the post secondary programs rather than having separate vocational and academic streams. Van Gelder strove for educational reform on a large scale and his ideas became the kernel of the middle school or comprehensive schools that the Dutch finally introduced in the 1980s.[75]

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[74] Boekholt and de Booy, 253.

[75] See Leon van Gelder, "De middenschool, kern van een nieuw onderwijsbeleid", in van Gelder Onderwijsbeleid en onderwijsvernieuwing: Van pedagogische wenselijkheid tot maatschappelijke noodzaak.["The middle school, kernel of a new education policy"] in [Educational policy and educational renewal: From pedagogical desirability to societal

J. COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

As noted in the introduction to this study, the term "comprehensive"as used in the Netherlands is not applied in the same manner as in North America; the Dutch have their own spin on this term. In the Netherlands comprehensive means more than one program in one school and that is how the term will be used in this discussion. A comprehensive school of sorts was established as early as 1909 in the Hague when the lyceum was created from the combination of a secondary general school and one for a preparatory secondary education. The idea behind this was to postpone the career choice of students. However, the lyceum was not legally recognized in the Netherlands until 1963 with the passage of the Mammoth Act. Yet there were also other schools with a comprehensive type of system before the passage of the Act. In the five streams of academic education the HBS-A, HBS-B, gymnasium A, gymnasium B and the MMS school the first year was a common year and the following two years were also quite similar. Curriculum differentiation only occurred during the last two years although the students in the MMS school all followed the same program. The curriculum of these schools, as indicated in Chapter II had far more in common than it differed.[76]

As noted in Chapter V, the 1945-1950 period saw the attempt by a handful of idealists to eliminate the excessive categorization of the Dutch educational system and they advised a shift to a comprehensive system but this was considered radical reform and these voices in the wilderness were scarcely noted.[77] While the discussions for the Mammoth Act were underway, the Pedagogical Studies Journal focussed on the issue of comprehensive schools in which Nieuwenhuis indicated that there was some interest from specific sectors of the educational community. In addition, E. Velema published extensively on the comprehensive schools in Sweden, Norway and later England.[78] He

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need]. (Groningen: Wolters, 1974):128-140.

[76] Idenburg, Schets, 382. See also Annual Report 1959 45.

[77] See Kemenade, 192 and Van de Velde, 361-388.

[78] See E.Velema, De Comprehensive School in Zweden en Noorwegen [The Comprehensive schools in Sweden and Norway], (Groningen: Mededelingen van het Nutsseminarium voor Pedagogiek aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam no.65, 1959) and

questioned whether the Mammoth Act sufficiently prepared for integration at the secondary level. Velema strongly advocated horizontal streaming with experimental schools and believed these would be far more effective than the traditional vertical streams largely retained by the Mammoth Act. Quite clearly these were not completely comprehensive but at least they offered more than one program, that in itself was a considerable change for the Dutch. The 10 experimental schools and their programs are listed in Table 17.[79]

TABLE 17: EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS

SCHOOL LOCATIONS	PROGRAMS
Amsterdam (Osdorp)	VWO, HAVO, MAVO, LAVO, HNO, LTO, LEAO, MEAO
Dronten	LTO, LHNO
Gorredijk	LTO, LHNO MAVO
Rotterdam (Overschie)	LTO, LHNO
Rotterdam	LTO, LEAO
Schiedam	LTO, MAVO
Ulft	LTO, MAVO
Voorburg	LTO, LHNO, LAVO, MAVO
Wolvega	LTO, LHNO
Wijchen	LTO, LEAO, MAVO
Zeist	LTO, LEAO

Another disadvantage was that these 10 schools were not truly comprehensive schools; they were still categorical and mirrored the fourfold

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W.H.Brouwer et al, De Comprehensive School in Engeland, Wales en Schotland, [The Comprehensive School in England, Wales and Scotland], (Groningen-Djakarta: Mededelingen van het Nutsseminarium voor pedagogiek aan deUniversiteit van Amsterdam no.59, 1956) and H. Nieuwenhuis et al "Comprehensive school-gedachte" [Comprehensive school ideas] Pedagogische Studiën 34 (1957).

[79] Source: Annual Report 1970 51.

division of Dutch secondary education. In a paper entitled "The Limits of Policy Research: the case of the Dutch comprehensive schools," the authors indicated that a comprehensive school policy was introduced in 1974.[80] They concluded that the comprehensive school idea had not been successful in the Netherlands because the country was not ready for such a different educational style. This is a curious argument. As indicated in the previous pages, the Dutch had some comprehensive schools since the 1910s and they functioned as if in that capacity; these were successful. But this article is derived from the 10 experimental schools that the Mammoth Act allowed to be established. These schools had many things going against them. In some cases the teachers' unions were simply against the idea of comprehensive schools. The weekly newspaper of the Nederlands Genootschap van Leraren, NGL, [Netherlands Association for Teachers], maintained a very biased viewpoint and did its utmost to sabotage the implementation of comprehensive programs. The Association argued that students would lose their individuality, that the comprehensive school was impossible to implement and that students would receive insufficient attention.[81] In other cases the administrative element was awry. Students, too, had some difficulty adjusting. In any case, at this early stage the experimental schools did not fare as well as had been expected. Finally, teachers individually has scarcely been consulted in the machinations of the Mammoth Act. One is amazed that a country deemed to be so efficient and orderly would exclude teachers from such a major undertaking. In fact, Buter wrote that as far as the changes to be implemented by the Mammoth Act were concerned "90% of our teachers have not even the slightest idea what these changes amounted to in practice."[82] This statement indicated that the system was still suffering from the strong division between the educrats and the educational community. The Mammoth Act did nothing to rectify this situation. The Annual Report 1968 indicates that due to the changes resulting from the Mammoth Act, 51 state schools at the VWO, HAVO and MAVO levels, which offered combined programs, taught a total of 24,184 students.[83]

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[80] Bert P.M. Creemer and Annemieke de Vries, "The Limits of Policy Research: The case of the Dutch comprehensive schools," (Haren: R.I.O.N., 1982): 1-22.

[81] See J.C. Traas, "Het heilig vuur kost veel energie," [The holy fire costs much energy] Weekblad van het Nederlandse genootschap van leraren [Weekly journal of the Netherlands association of teachers] 16 (1981): 833-836.

[82] Buter, 115.

The bridge year had been another point of focus for many years, as indicated in Chapters III and V before it was included in the secondary level changes. Stellwag, for example, published on the positive reasoning behind the bridge year that eventually would lead to comprehensive schools at the junior secondary level. With van Gelder acting as chair the Nederlandse Onderwijsvereeniging, NOV, [Dutch Teachers Association], published a report entitled Nieuwe onderwijsvormen voor 5 tot 13@14 jarige [New Education Framework for 5 to 13@14 year olds]. A minimum two year orientation period, or bridge period, was advocated between elementary and junior secondary educational levels. This Report was critical of the Mammoth Act because it proposed that the experimental or comprehensive schools should function side by side with the traditional system while the teachers represented by the Association wanted them integrated into the system. This Report also noted the importance of integrating theoretical and practical educational programs that the Mammoth Act did not address. As noted earlier, the Middle School was not introduced in the Netherlands until the 1990s and this was because the career choice, despite the Mammoth Act that changed it to age 13, was still deemed to be too early. Moreover, the student could choose among the four streams, but if the student failed a year he or she was moved to another school program. The inflexibility of the system usually meant that the student was transferred to a lower level educational stream and according to Bosker usually "happens to one out of ten children and is five times more likely than an upward switch after completing the first stream chosen."[84]

With all of these factors working against it, it seems surprising then that the Mammoth Act was passed at all since change in the secondary education level obviously was not highly prized in the Netherlands. There are numerous reasons for its successful passage. One, it had been discussed intermittently for eight years in Parliament and the germs of the Act had been initiated by the 1910 Unification Commission Report, by Minister Bolkestein and by Minister

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[83] Annual Report 1968 42. There are no longer any state school in the Netherlands.

[84] Roel J. Bosker, "The Middle School in the Netherlands," International Journal of Educational Research 12 (1988): 498.

Rutten's Plan in 1951. Respectively these recommendations may have been allowed to gather dust in the archives, but they nevertheless were quite influential in the passage of the Mammoth Act. Consequently, the educrats and parliamentarians had 50 years to adjust to educational change in the secondary system, change that they believed was of mammoth proportions.

Secondly, the time was right. Another reason why the Mammoth Act was passed was that Cals was optimistic, had a far less difficult tenure than his predecessors and held the Ministerial position far longer than any other Minister before or after him. The government purposely let him have a long tenure, from 1952 to 1963, which meant that he would have time to implement change. In fact, Cals was responsible for the 1955 Pre-Elementary Education Act and the 1960 Post Secondary Act besides the 1963 Secondary Education Act so one could say that the societal determinants finally allowed a Minister of Education to do his job. However, these former two Acts were far more successful in reaching their goals than the latter which leaves the researcher to ponder whether the Ministry and the government still deemed the elementary and post secondary levels to be more important than the secondary level - as was the case at the turn of the century. One can ask this because there have only been a few Secondary Education Laws in Dutch educational history whereas the other levels of schooling have many more. Appendix M -Educational Legislation to 1970 - lists all the educational laws.

Also, Reconstruction was over by 1955 and economic prosperity benefitted legislative change. After the war experience slow change was no longer feared as much as it had been. The many post war European Education Ministers' Conferences resulted in increased debate and the exchange of ideas so crucial to innovative educational policy.[85] Various Western European countries had implemented educational change after the war, England being first with a new education law as early as 1944, although only implemented in 1947, and educational reform and change had already occurred in Denmark in

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[85] The Council of Europe sponsored the 1962 conference in Strasbourg in 1962. This conference proceedings resulted in the 1964/5 publication entitled School systems: A Guide. The premise of the book was that comparing educational systems was not as beneficial as analysis of the differences. Some of the factors the conference used to illlustrate this argument were language, historical development and ideologies.

1958 and in France in 1959. These countries all preceded the Netherlands in implementing post war educational reform. The Dutch generally followed the currents and trends in German education but it is quite likely that this external Danish and French impetus spurred the Dutch government finally to accept educational change. The Netherlands was quite late from a comparative perspective for the Act was not implemented until 1 August 1968 and all the changes would not be completed until 1974. So post war educational change in the secondary level of the educational system in the Netherlands took more than 25 years to complete; it is truly sad that this change that took so long to implement was regressive to some extent.

K. THE WAY AHEAD

The fact that the Mammoth Act did not facilitate the apocalyptic educational change it promised, and by this time was required by a modern society, was made apparent long before the Act was completely implemented in 1974. In the Annual Report 1968 that was a recollection of the minutiae regarding implementation of the Mammoth Act, the report of the OECD[86] concerning Dutch education was mentioned.[87]The OECD's group of international educational experts saw no need for the excessive categorization legislated by the Mammoth Act and urged that the categorization be eliminated as soon as possible because it was not necessary in the modern world. This indicates that the OECD believed that the Dutch still had a traditional and antiquarian education system even with the moves legislated by the Mammoth Act.

The Annual Report 1969 had more substantive informative detail, and clearly indicates the impact of the Mammoth Act on the secondary level of Dutch education. For example, in 1969 the state maintained a total of 50 comprehensive schools with 27,843 students while the 61 municipal schools enrolled 29,746 students.[88] What proves interesting is that the "pillarization"of schools increased rather than decreased after implementation of the Mammoth Act; this becomes evident if the reader refers to various charts throughout this study and compares them with Chart 54[89]; the differences between these statistics and the pre Mammoth Act statistics are quite interesting. The Annual Report 1969 provides some statistics of the VWO and HAVO schools that were categorized into 61 Protestant schools with 38,415 students, 143 Roman Catholic schools with 95,471 students and 26 private schools with 13,191 students.[90] The public school sector however, decreased from 28.9 to 28.6 per cent.[91] The Annual Report 1969 also thoroughly discusses the adaptation or adjustment of the secondary level to the legislation of the Mammoth Act. The administrative work in converting the schools was unwieldy and took five to six years to complete.

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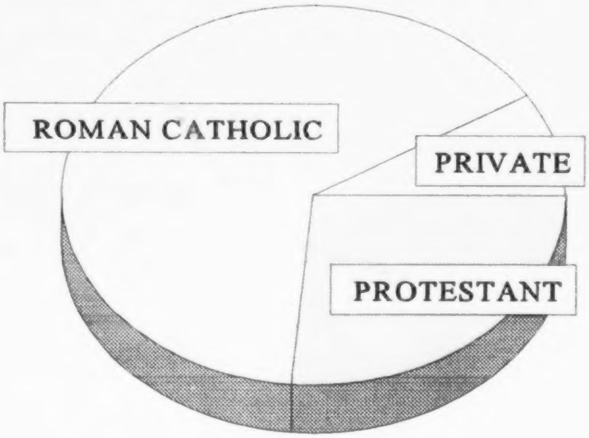
[86] The OECD had been established the same year.

[87] See Annual Report 1968 42-43 for a numerical list of the various comprehensive schools.

CHART 54: "PILLARIZATION" 1969



With all the material presented in this study it should be obvious that the Mammoth Act did not live up to its expectations; it was not a problem solving Act. Education Minister Cals left his position and moved on to national politics. Dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness of the Act came from his successors in the Ministry of Education as early as 1972, two years before the Mammoth Act would be fully implemented in 1974. The momentum for further change was made apparent when Minister C. Van Veen delivered a discussion paper, Nota over het onderwijsbeleid [Note concerning educational policy], to parliament in which he advocated that the 13 to 15-year age group should be integrated into one category.

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[88] Annual Report 1969 44-45.

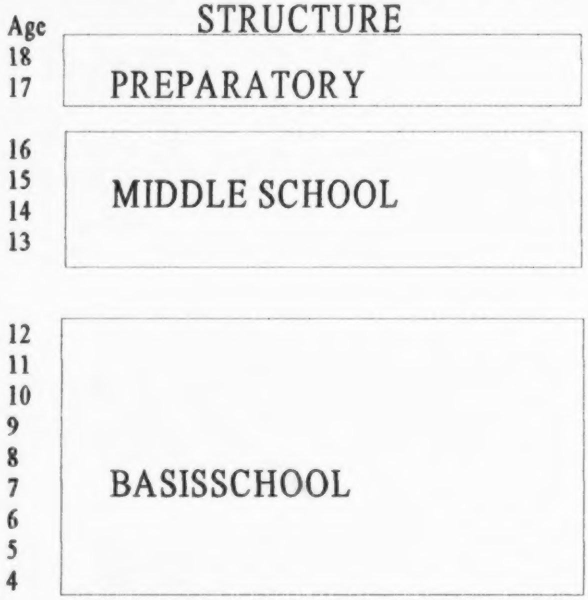
[89] Source: Ibid.

[90] Ibid, 45.

[91] CBS, (1994): 244.

This was followed by the very famous Dutch educational discussion paper entitled Contouren van een toekomstig onderwijsbestel [Contours of a future education system] hereafter Contourennota, by Education Minister van Kemenade in 1975 in which he proposed that the first phase of secondary education, junior secondary education, should consist of one school type for the 12 to 16-year age group.[92] In addition, the Contourennota recommended a structural overhaul: students aged four to 12 would attend the Basisschool, [Basic school] students aged 12 to 16 would attend the comprehensive Middle School, and this was to be followed by a finishing level in preparation for the various post secondary schools for those over 18, as seen in Chart 55.[93] Van Kemenade tried to ensure full cooperation in educational change through teacher involvement. The Ministry also solicited comments from all elements of Dutch society, in fact, more than 100,000 people took part in the

CHART 55: CONTOURENNNOTA STRUCTURE



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[92] J.A. van Kemenade, Contouren van een toekomstig onderwijsbestel [Contours of a future education system] (The Hague: Ministry of Education and Sciences, 1975).

[93] This chart is derived from the Contourennota.

discussion.[94] The Contourennota received more attention than any other education document in Dutch history. The Vervolg Contourennota, [Follow up Contourennota] was published in 1977 that had taken into consideration all the concepts and ideas that interested parties had suggested in response to the original Contourennota. This indicates a compromise approach to education. Many principles of the comprehensive system were included but an act in this regard was not passed at this time because the attempt to create a comprehensive system was deleteriously affected by the defeat of the government. The new conservative government vehemently opposed any change in the educational system and retained the categorized, segmented system that the Mammoth Act brought forth. Also, the funds allocated for the comprehensive schools were withdrawn and the idea lay dormant. Obviously political forces outside the control of the Ministry were responsible for this setback.

Education Minister Pais in 1979 wrote Ontwikkelingsplan voor het voortgezet onderwijs [Development plan for secondary education], in which he advocated extending the bridge year to a common two-year period with possible three to four year extensions, in effect becoming a three or four-year common school. His structural idea, similar to that of Van Kemenade, commenced with the Basisschool [Basis school] for students aged four to 16. This likely was based on the extension of the compulsory age to 10 years of schooling in 1975. This idea was not well received by proponents of the comprehensive schools who wished for a definite extension rather than a possible extension.

Political forces again were at play when in 1982 Education Minister van Kemenade[95] revived his 1975 idea when he published Verder naar de basisschool, [Further to the basic school] which laid the foundations for the future changes. By basisschool [Basic school]van Kemenade meant one school for four to 16 year olds and another program for the first three years of the secondary level, as shown in Chart 55, that would later become known as VBAO. However, this idea met with considerable resistance from various groups as noted earlier. These attempts at reform were again at the mercy of the functionalist elements of Dutch society and many people believed they were nothing more than a waste of time because the structure implemented with the Mammoth Act did not change until the mid 1980s. These four attempts in a 15-year period, especially from the Ministers of Education, suggest a state of uncertainty that the Mammoth Act seemingly aggravated and relayed to teachers in their classrooms.[96] The fact that the educrats made few changes until the 1980s and 1990s certainly indicates a fear of or a reluctance to undertake educational change.

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[94] B.A. Thoolen and R. Ruiter, The long-term development of education in the Netherlands. Reprint Series no. 141 (Paris: UNESCO, 1973), 6.

[95] Van Kemenade was Minister of Education twice. Refer to Appendix H -Ministers of Education-for the specific dates.

After Van Kemenade's second tenure ended, Education Minister W. J. Deetman proposed restructuring the system with Voortgezet Basisonderwijs, Basic Education Act. The 1955 Pre Elementary Education Act and the 1920 Primary Education Act were made redundant as they were replaced in 1981 with the Primary Education Act, WBO, to be effective as of 1985, which combined preschool and elementary school into one program so that the Dutch presently have an eight-year elementary level called the basisschool, [Basic school]. Finally in the 1990s junior secondary level was made a three-year common school and called the preparatory basisschool [Basic school]. One should view this as a step away from the functionalist element in Dutch education, students now being considered equal from a social class perspective. This was accomplished with the 1992 De Wet Basisvorming, [The Act Basis Forming]. The three-year common program curriculum offered fifteen subjects: Dutch language, English language, either French or German language, history and political science, geography, economics, science and mathematics, chemistry, biology, care giving, information sciences, technical subjects, and physical education. Students in addition could choose from four other subjects, drama, music, arts, and dance. The purpose of these schools was to postpone the career choice for students to age 15, to harmonize the educational development between the two levels, to strengthen the knowledge of the vocation to be chosen at completion of the Middle School, and to create a more cohesive system. One could say that the Act Basis Forming in many ways accomplished what the Mammoth Act had originally intended but failed to accomplish.[97]

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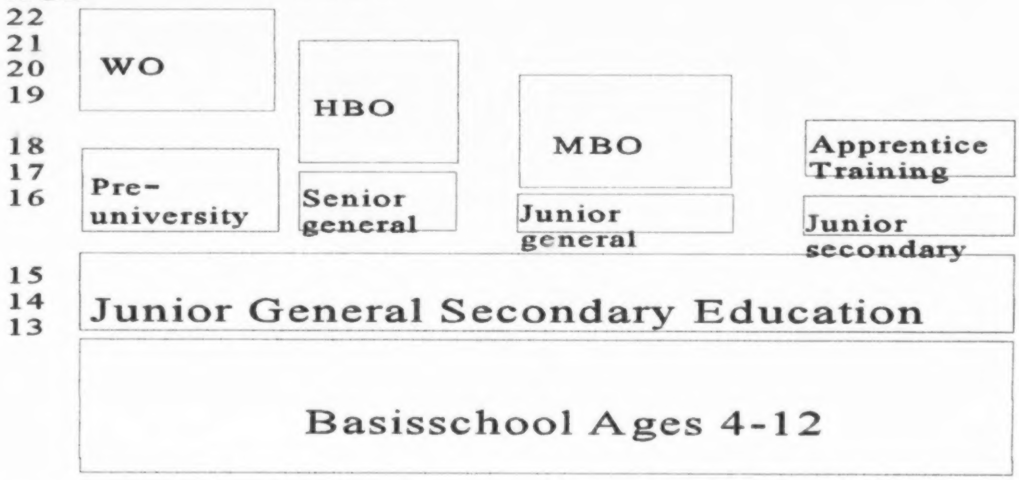
[96] See Jan Pol, "Het onderwijs is aan het eind van zijn Latijn," Een boekje open over Hengelo (Enschede/Hengelo: Quick Service Drukkerijen Nederland BV, 1983).

All the reasons mentioned throughout this discussion indicate that passage of the Mammoth Act was subject to a complex web of determinants that ultimately caused its ineffectiveness. Clearly many attempts had been made since the 1890s to modernize and change Dutch education, all without success. The Mammoth Act excelled in categorization, in segmentation, in classification, in restructuring and renaming simply because functionalism was and still to an extent is the basis of Dutch society. From a pedagogical perspective, however, the Mammoth Act was not an enlightening piece of legislation. Still, although the Act had many deficiencies, one might best view it as a stimulus, the arbiter for future secondary level educational change in the Netherlands. The changes which slightly modernized Dutch education from the late 1970s to the 1990s have at least brought it into the 20th century structurally as Chart 56 indicates.[98] Although the educational system still has a step ladder structure Chart 56 also

CHART 56: EDUCATION STRUCTURE 1993


AGE
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
WO
HBO
MBO
Apprentice Training
Pre-university
Senior general
Junior general
Junior secondary
Junior General Secondary Education
Basisschool Ages 4-12

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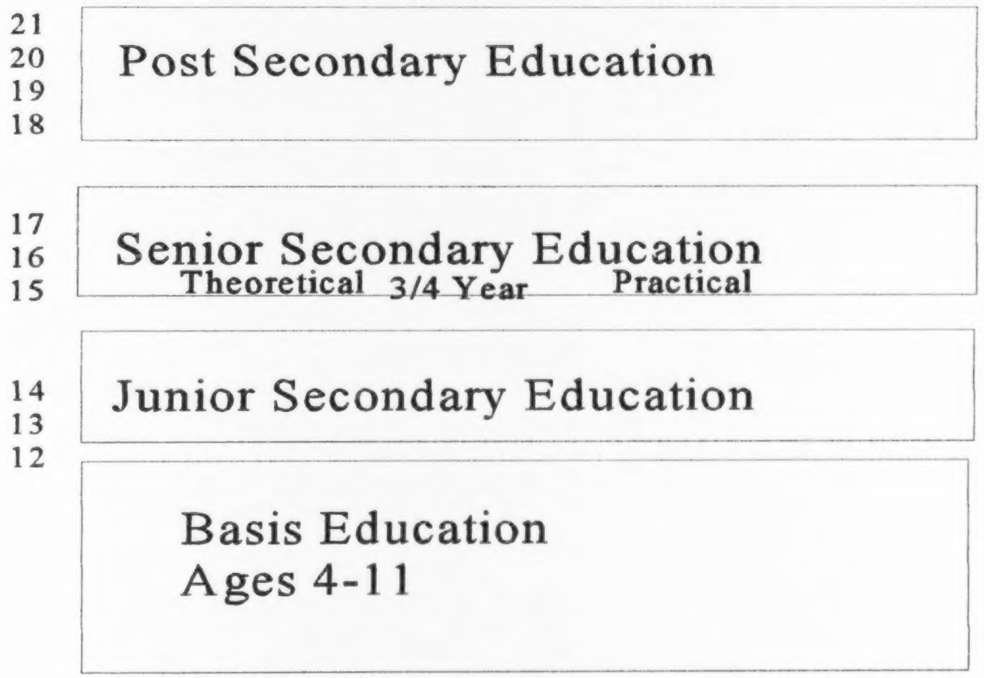
[97] The Dutch might have avoided confusion if the two terms were not as similar; Basisschool is followed by Basisvorming.

[98] Special Education is offered from ages four to 16 but has been excluded from Chart 56 due to space requirements.

illustrates the changes to junior secondary general education and that it was the beginning of the elimination of the rigid intellectual class structure.

The Dutch are again in the midst of structural reform and are changing their system; by the year 2000 the system will look like the structure on Chart 57. The Dutch educational structure will include a senior secondary level divided into theoretical and practical, reminiscent of Gobbelschroy's structure (Chart 28), of Bos' Structure in 1898 (Chart 32) and that of the 1945 WVOO Report (Chart 36). These were the very same ideas and structural suggestions that the Dutch rejected 150 years ago, nearly 100 years ago and 50 years ago respectively. The 18-22 age group taking higher vocational education that had been placed within the boundaries of secondary education with the Mammoth Act was finally placed where it belonged, in the post secondary category, with the passage of the 1986 Higher Vocational Education Act, WHBO. The Dutch universities now also offer undergraduate programs and post graduate studies.

CHART 57: FUTURE DUTCH EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE


Age
21
20
19
18
Post Secondary Education
17
16
15
Senior Secondary Education
Theoretical
3/4 Year
Practical
14
13
12
Junior Secondary Education
Basis Education
Ages 4-11

The complete story of the machinations behind the legislative detail of Dutch education, from 1968 to the present, cannot be included in this study in great detail because this period is an entirely different situation, and expands far beyond the parameters of this study. One could say that Dutch secondary education in the 20th century can be divided into pre Mammoth Act and post Mammoth Act in which the move away from functionalism is apparent simply by examining the post Mammoth Act charts. However, the post 1970 changes have far more factors and determinants than the story as told within this study; explaining them would require another 300 pages. The post 1970 developments warrant their own historian.

CHAPTER VIII- SUMMATION AND CONCLUSION

That the Dutch have a unique education system cannot be disputed. As discussed throughout this study, it is obvious that the Dutch traditionally had an amazingly complex, chaotic, uncorrelated educational system, although they do not envision it as such, from which they have had considerable difficulty extricating themselves. In fact, this extrication process is continuing in the 1990s and will not be accomplished at least until the year 2000. This complexity is unwarranted in a country that prides itself on its progressive attitude toward education. This study also indicates that numerous factors and issues recur throughout Dutch educational development, the major factor being the functionalist approach to society, the "pillarization" that has permeated education at least since the 12th century. The individual freedom the Dutch so cherish dates from Carolingian times, was reinforced by the Eighty Years' War and the French and German Occupations. The religious element traditionally has been all important; the Dutch evolved from Roman Catholicism to Calvinism and then to a general Christianity. This was offset by the creation of political parties in the late 19th century that then politicized education. These are only some of the institutions that stir functionalism - the sabotage factor. But, as indicated throughout this study, the most intriguing factor is that they have had, at least since the 1820s, numerous opportunities to implement a less hierarchical, less class structured, more egalitarian educational system yet repeatedly neglected using the chances presented to them; instead they remained encased in a functionalist rigidity and in some ways regressive in their approach to education.

The various Acts since 1801 had created a system that was not only highly differentiated, but that plodded along; with piecemeal development it became "a lovely chaos" and needlessly complicated because of its heavy emphasis on "pillarization." Clearly, the system that had developed by 1960 had emerged haphazardly with little consideration for cohesion or correlation that paradoxically is characteristic of the chaos that derives from functionalism. A semblance of unity in the educational system was entirely absent. Four different Acts regulated Dutch education for ages 12 to 18; this was completely unnecessary although typically Dutch. At least the Mammoth Act regulated all of secondary education although the Dutch put their own spin on that also by including the 18-22 age group for vocational education as a secondary category but with three levels as seen in Chart 41. One can conclude that the Dutch at least to 1970 retained a functionalist mind set concerning education. The Ministry agrees with this assessment in "Richness of the uncompleted" which states that functionalism:

> as the dominant principle of social organisation declined in importance after the 1960s, but it is still clearly discernible in many fields. Education offers one of the most striking examples of this.[1]

Having discussed the historical educational development it is time at this summation stage to examine missed opportunities to reform. The attempts at secondary reform, it can be argued, were ineffectual because they were founded on outdated ideas that had not been accepted earlier and thereafter Dutch educational reform was based on a "trickle down" effect. These attempts at reform can clearly be divided into pre World War II and post World War II periods. From an innovative perspective the pre World War II, especially around the 1790s to the 1820s provided the most positive pedagogical changes. The Dutch in 1806, a time of great adversity, created a system at the cutting edge: modern, progressive and national, far ahead of other European countries. This becomes obvious with the creation of the national educational legislation provided by the Society and the insightful leadership offered by Van der Palm and Van den Ende. Then the 1829 Gobbelschroy Commission attempted to improve on this system and created a structure (Chart 28) which was quite advanced for the time, a 6-3-3 structure; up to that time no other educational system worldwide had introduced this type of egalitarian system. Had the Dutch accepted these recommendations there would have been very little to improve upon and they would have been centuries ahead of other countries. The first example of the trickle down effect is at play here because the 3-year junior secondary program eventually led to the idea of a common school that would become the Middle School but not until the 1990s. Unfortunately after 1830 the Dutch regressed; rather than accept such a simple structure the Dutch instead, because of the various functionalist elements, moved to a confusing mixture of schools that lacked congruence; it had neither uniformity nor cohesion among the various schools. As noted in Chapter III, by 1850 the Dutch did not have an educational "system," they merely had a conglomeration of various schools. This was typically Dutch and mirrored the societal structure. Verlinden[2] argues that incredibly, up to the time of the Mammoth Act, nothing tied the educational system together and this unfortunately was the result of the band-aid approach, or as the Dutch call it the "piecemeal approach" to educational needs.

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[1] "Richness of the uncompleted" 21.

Another trickle down example is the structure, Chart 32, presented by D. Bos in 1898 that was also was quite egalitarian and reminiscent of that presented by Gobbelschroy 60 years earlier as seen in Chart 28. The trickle down effect becomes obvious if the two corresponding charts are compared. Dutch society paid little heed to this enlightened individual. The complexity of the system obviously was meant to be retained so the Unification Commission, which was given the task of creating a cohesive system, in 1910 used the obvious functionalist approach and tried to accommodate every faction involved in education. This Commission was ahead of its time in that it realized that societal elements affected education.[3] The trickle down effect is again noticeable because the Commission introduced a structure, Chart 33, that was representative of both the Gobbelschroy and Bos reports. The Commission's recommendations, one level for six to 12 year olds and two common years for all 13 to 14 year olds in all the categories of secondary schools certainly derived from the Gobbelschroy and Bos structures. The Unification Commission's structure of the secondary system, however, was characteristic and representative of what was already in existence in the Dutch system. However, the terminology was modernized with the Unification Commission and henceforth the names of the various categories of secondary schools would differ from the 19th century terminology. For example, the grammar schools would become VHO and be renamed lyceum rather than retain the three different categories of schools though the programs after the first two common years would be divided into three categories: A, B, and C. The HBS schools would become MAVO schools but retain the three year and five year levels; this simply maintained what was already in existence. ULO, the two-year extension to elementary education, would also be retained. The later attempts at reform, as illustrated in Chapters VI and VII, use this terminology so the trickle down effect is quite evident. The 1934 Education Bill tried also to change the terminology into AVO, LO, and MO as illustrated in Chart 34; all of these terms were trickled down from the Unification Commission and would be adopted with the Mammoth Act. The structure that would have been implemented if the 1934 Education Bill had passed was complicated but quite characteristic of the complex Dutch system of education.

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[2] Verlinden, Mammoetwet. Verlinden was a former Director at the Ministry of Education and Sciences. He wrote the definitive work on the Mammoth Act.

[3] Idenburg in 1970 popularized this idea that had been advocated decades earlier by other voices in the wilderness. Hereafter Dutch historiography believed that this was indeed the most beneficial approach to view education.

The various post war attempts at change introduced some modernity but retained traditional elements. The trickle down effect is quite obvious in these attempts. The Bolkestein structure for example, categorized the three grammar schools into the lyceum sector, preserved the MMS and divided the rest of the secondary level into three additional types of schools. Bolkestein also advocated a bridge year and a six-year elementary level; recommendations that would be incorporated into the Mammoth Act but had been propounded in Gobbelschroy, Bos and the Unification Commission. The trickle down effect is also obvious in the 1945 WVOO Structure, as discussed in Chapter V, for it was nearly identical to the Gobbelschroy structure but would have created a 5-3-3 system rather than a 6-3-3; that one year of elementary schools was the major difference between the two. Why this structure, created by teachers, - those in the forefront of education- was ignored is an enigma, part of the paradox of Dutch education. The irony here is that if the educrats had adopted this structure the Dutch would have saved themselves at least 50 years and significant labour and expense because this is largely the same system, only the elementary years differ, that will be adopted by the end of the 1990s.

The Rutten Plan also used the trickle down approach concerning terminology, a bridge year, and structure. For example, Rutten provided a new term for the elementary school - basisschool- [Basic school] and this is the term used today for the elementary level, which has incorporated the pre schools through the 1985 Primary Education Act and is for ages four to 12.[4] Rutten also advocated a two-year common program after completion of the basisschool [Basic school] so that students could postpone their crucial career choice.

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[4] This is not to be confused with the 1993 Law on Basis Forming which governs junior secondary schools.

Additionally, he included the terminology that would eventually be adopted as Article Five of the Mammoth Act. Rutten also used the trickle down approach when he used the same category, AMS, for the four-year secondary general program that Bolkestein had advocated. In the 1970s Van Kemenade in turn used the trickle down approach when he advocated the basisschool [Basic school] advocated by Rutten although he made a variation with inclusion of the pre school level.

It is not necessary to regurgitate the basics of the Mammoth Act for Chapter VI indicates the changes, or lack thereof that it brought to the Dutch system. But because of the trickling down effect, the Mammoth Act adopted various components of not only one but all of the previous educational reform attempts, there is little original or innovative thought in the structure adopted by the Mammoth Act; this is indicated in Chart 40. It retained the traditional step ladder structure, altering it only slightly, and on the surface it appeared to cure the defects in the secondary system but while it appeared less confusing it inadvertently, in actual practise, proved more restrictive and intensified its complexity. The small degree of secondary educational change becomes obvious if Chart 40 and Chart 32 are compared side by side. Basically the only differences caused by the Mammoth Act were the additions of a bridge year, name changes for the various schools and the right for some schools to experiment with the idea of a comprehensive system. The latter was already practised in some of the schools, as indicated in Chapter II and III; the Mammoth Act merely recognized these schools legislatively. Quite obviously the Dutch educational system after the passage of the Mammoth Act was still grounded in a 19th century world view.

As one Dutch author indicates, this approach no doubt derives from the fact that the:

> ...Netherlands is such a small country with little political power and not a very important culture. We have no weighty traditions to defend like the Americans and the Russians. We represent no important culture like the French, the English or the Germans...The special qualities of the

Netherlands result from the fact that we are not an international power.[5]

This quote is an important clue to the Dutch mind set. Despite the fact that some of the points, for example, size and lack of political power internationally are correct there is an erroneous assumption. The Dutch do have weighty ideals to defend, but seemingly they do not recognize that their struggle for balance between the tyranny of functionalism and decentralization is very important, this study indicates that this has been their history ever since the country rose out of the marshes. Consequently the one unifying element that the Dutch had was to remain functionalist but moreover to retain 19th century educational ideals. Up to 1970 Dutch society seemed determined to retain their old values, the old system as long as possible and it seems that this was merely for tradition's sake. It was more expedient and less confusing to remain in a functionalist mind set because that was a strong tie to the past, "a stabilizing element in a rapidly changing world that one wants to preserve."[6]

The passage of the Mammoth Act indicates that the educational paradox was quite pervasive. The Act aggravated the excessive categorization and intensified the class differences; it escalated the streaming process, tried to increase lateral transfers, but ultimately failed to liberate the student. Not only was the Mammoth Act an administrative nightmare but it was created in harmony with the understanding of a 19th century world view "compartmentalised in accordance with the prevailing class structure: the Gymnasium (grammar school) or the educated class, the [hogere burgerscholen] for the middle classes, and the elementary school for the remainder."[7] For this reason the Ministry required additional staff; keeping everyone pigeonholed in their specific category was a time consuming and labour intensive task. Simultaneously the Mammoth Act also maintained the high intellectual expectations of its programs as indicated by Dodde[8] and inexorably increased the failure rate that it had meant to ameliorate.

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[5] Henk J.J. Ossewaarde, ed., The Dutch Way...Information about the broad system of educational development assistance in the Netherlands (Almelo: Studio Harstra GVN, 1977), 37.

[6] Stellwag, 65.

[7] Bosker, 498.

Precisely because the Act was based on a functionalist mind set it became redundant even before it was passed; as was discussed in Chapter VII section K. The Mammoth Act, an Act that had a 100 years gestation time as illustrated in Appendix N- Educational Reform Stages - should have been an Act of expansion, of breadth, of cutting edge change and certainly should have been open to new influences and new ideas; the hold of functionalism was simply too great. What should have been a propitious moment in the history of Dutch secondary education merely resulted in administrative change, not pedagogical change. In the battle between modern pedagogy and traditional subject-centred curriculum the latter won but at great cost to the future of the system for it stagnated for another 20 years rather than becoming rejuvenated. Caught in the path of least resistance it was simpler to ignore the voices in the wilderness, the innovators, the various new structural suggestions and the implementation of a learner oriented pedagogy. It was easier to expand on the old and tried than to create new challenges. This enormous resistance to change surely belies the idea that the Dutch were progressive in their education system. Little that was constructive was introduced and thus the system retained its complacency and inertia. It is quite easy to agree with the OECD that in 1970 reported that "the pluralistic control would seem to be more of a conservative guarantee than an instrument for democratic control and educational progress."[9] This recognition of the deleterious functionalist component of Dutch education by the OECD was the first step to rejuvenation of the system, something the Mammoth Act had not provided. Ultimately the Mammoth Act was ethnocentric, and narrowly preoccupied with maintaining the nationalistic and social stratification and it did too little; it was restrictive and peripheral and failed to bring about the results that had been anticipated regarding educational change. Evidently old values were not rejected. The Mammoth Act preserved the status quo, with too heavy a reliance on the past. In hindsight, adapting this old fashioned type of structure when the rest of Western Europe was progressing to more modern educational systems was ludicrous, but as hopefully has been made obvious, the Dutch have their own spin on progressing societally, that is what makes them unique and worthy of further study. The Mammoth Act was not a watershed in Dutch secondary education. The terms of the Mammoth Act indicated that the Dutch educational system was in a time warp, guided by an out of date system that had assumptions of a hierarchical class structure. Obviously substantial educational reform had to wait and only in the 1980s and 1990s were positive albeit cautious steps taken at last towards comprehensive change.

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[8] Dodde, Mammoet 114.

[9] OECD Report (1970), 20.

It is important too, not to place all the responsibility for the ineffectiveness of the Act on any particular functionalist element, that would be incorrect and unfair. The Ministry of Education and Sciences for example, as was indicated in Chapters III and VII, was created to initiate legislation and to provide administrative assistance to the educational system - nothing more. That the Ministry achieved these objectives is obvious. Its mandate did not allow for any inclusion of pedagogical innovations; perhaps it is best to view the Ministry of Education and Sciences as an administrative department; it might have been more effective if it had remained a part of the Ministry of the Interior with a title such as Department of Educational Administration or Department of Educational Policy rather than Ministry of Education and Sciences. The Ministry from the outset appeared sabotaged in its mandate; it was severely restricted because of other functionalist institutions such as parliament, the public versus private system, religious, economic and political elements and the like; for that reason it provided mediocre policy and was merely relegated to the sidelines and did not effect educational change. One needs to hold functionalism responsible for this grave error in restricting the Ministry's mandate. However, the enlightened Education Minister van Kemenade realized that in the modern era there should be pedagogical improvements alongside managerial and administrative changes. When the Ministry changed its policy, as effectively pointed out by Idenburg, to constructive activity rather than merely distributive activity as discussed in Chapter VII, it attempted to do more than manage the educational system; it tried to be more involved in pedagogical change as occurred with van Kemenade in the 1970s and 1980s. Other elements of Dutch society castigated both the Minister and the Ministry as becoming too centralized. Reviewing the mandate of the Ministry of Education and Sciences might be wise for the Dutch.

It is easy to argue too that the major culprit for the complexity of the educational system in the 20th century was the Pacification Agreement that equalized financial allocations but simultaneously legislatively divided Dutch education into four separate categories and intensified the "pillarization." The Dutch view this paradoxical document as a liberal agreement but as shown in Chapters III, VI and VII, it has created problems far beyond its original intent - functionalism created chaos. Obviously the centrifugal factors of functionalism have traditionally dictated the development of the Dutch educational system. If one factor promotes educational change, another factor sabotages it. For example, when the Ministry of Education tried to implement pedagogical change it was hampered by an election - this has occurred repeatedly.[10] Politics also played a role in the sabotage of the Dutch educational system. Wars and political divisiveness wreaked havoc on the system. The frequent changes of governments as suggested in Chapter VII, also hindered change. More so, Ministry-sponsored attempts to implement pedagogical change were sabotaged by the Dutch public and special interest groups unwilling to accept decentralization because it infringes on their rights. The religious groups too have had great control over educational change that they try to prevent. This occurred because they felt a need to protect their "territorial" boundaries but unfortunately this was achieved at the expense of pedagogical innovation. If one refers to Charts 44 and 45, the denominational CHU and the KVP obviously held control over the Ministry for the longest periods; during their tenures ineffective change occurred in secondary education. When the denominations were in control of the Ministry of Education, the reforms in secondary education, for example the Mammoth Act, were based on an antiquated societal world view. When parliament was eager to introduce change it was hindered by economic forces. It is a paradox too, that the Dutch, who abhor any kind of centralization, is the most heavily bureaucratized state in Western Europe with often incomprehensible rules and regulations. The more egalitarian and effective reforms were accomplished when the socialist PvdA was in control of the Ministry during the 1970s and1980s.

Nevertheless, detractors of the Mammoth Act need to realize that despite the fact that it was merely administrative legislation it was at least a step towards modernity, it finally brought the Dutch secondary education system

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[10] The elections have not been heavily emphasized in this study but they did have an effect as has been indicated.

into the 20th century - in 1968. The Mammoth Act was useful in many ways. One, it brought some much-needed cohesion to an inchoate system that had been allowed to be haphazardly constructed over the centuries. One could say that formal secondary education only appeared in the Netherlands in 1963, which in comparison to other European countries is surprisingly late. Nevertheless the aim, to make the secondary system one cohesive whole was accomplished by the Mammoth Act. All categories of secondary education were combined for the first time under one Act; this was a major innovation for the Dutch and rightly should be viewed as a mammoth undertaking although it resulted in minor effectiveness. Again the Dutch put their own spin on age groups; although the chronology was awry, the vocational 18 to 22 year olds were considered to be in the secondary category alongside the 13 to 18 year olds, amazingly this was not rectified until the 1990s. Oddly enough in the 1990s the problems lie in the transference and upward moves from the secondary system to the post secondary system, it seems the problems merely moved up chronologically by age. But with the Mammoth Act the Dutch believed that greater flexibility was incorporated in the system; that was not true [11]but a smoother transition from the elementary school level to another was accomplished in that - everyone knew they had to go through a bridge year.[12] The Mammoth Act should be viewed as a hard won compromise, employing all the divergent functionalist elements: politics, economics, religion, juridical legislation, educational policy and public and private segmentation; as indicated in Chapter VII, that brought some unity to the disparate segments of a complex, confusing and chaotic secondary educational system. Expecting the Mammoth Act to accomplish complete reform with one stroke was blatantly unfair and should not have been expected. One Act cannot rectify the damage accumulated by centuries of mismanagement. Finally, the Mammoth Act, albeit imperfect, should be viewed as the first step in a new stage of Dutch education, a transition that would lead them into the 21st century; without this piece of legislation it is quite likely that the Dutch would still be contemplating recategorizing, restructuring, and renaming, only the task would be far more intense and even more complicated. For the Dutch abolishing the stratification would be profitable and streaming which have contributed significantly to the fragmented and dysfunctional nature of the educational system. True, religion involves feelings, attitudes and behaviours but the answer lies in acceptance of others and tolerance in the broad sense, not in imposing divisive categories to justify educational and societal differentiation. Again the paradox lies in the functionalist aspect of Dutch society. Functionalists look at similarities rather than differences and the Dutch believe that their acceptance of each other's mind set is tolerance and that is one of the unifying elements that holds Dutch society together. Yet paradoxically, and as has been indicated throughout this study, it is a dysfunctional practice and creates a divided nation.[13] A prime example is that the Pacification Agreement resulted in no one being happy.

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[11] Van Gelder, 468.

[12] No study or evaluation has ever been done to analyse whether or not the Mammoth Act accomplished its intent in smoothing the transition to and cohesion within the secondary level. The statistics available at CBS might prove interesting. Despite a supposed easier study flow for the students there was still quite a large number of dropouts.

Moreover, the differences between the public and private systems in the 1990s now are so minute, as Dodde argues,[14] that the idea of private and public systems can easily be eliminated and amalgamated into one system. This would eliminate the divisive categories and would eradicate the needless duplication of boards, administrative staff, and all the other categories where the same courses, same schools and same final leaving examinations are used anyway. Eradication of the functionalist model of societal relations may seem idealistic but this is the only way that the educational problems in the Netherlands can be solved. Fortunately, it seems that the Dutch have learned from these errors for their educational legislation since the 1980s has proved more egalitarian and blessedly the Dutch have eradicated some, although by no means all of their functionalist elements. Their society mirrors this sociological theory in a far more pervasive manner, even in the 1990s, than is generally perceived.

In conclusion, the Dutch state up to 1970 obviously did not want a progressive, modern system, moreover parliament would not accept it. Undoubtedly this is due to the fact that if modifications were made in the educational system then the societal structure too required change; the Dutch were not prepared to accept this. The conundrum is that Dutch society itself prevented the creation of a modern educational system. One can concur with Lijphart who sees the Dutch as a nation divided. It seems that the view the Dutch have of themselves is a facade, in their educational system especially they have not been liberal, tolerant, nor progressive. Rather up to 1970, they had a strong class structure delineated into political, socioeconomic and religious groups that focussed on a narrow-minded, condescending and discriminatory world view that provide categories in which everyone is expected to find a niche. The barriers provided by the sharp societal distinctions evolved into an immutable rigidity that is surprising in a country that believes in democratic egalitarian ideals. The Dutch theoretically view everyone as an equal in accordance with the Pacification Agreement and this is certainly laudable, but unfortunately this is not the practice. It is an ironic twist that Dutch education became ghettoized because of a document that financially guaranteed educational freedom.

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[13] Lijphardt, 16.

[14] Dodde, Mammoet 132.

Ultimately the Dutch educational system at least up to 1970 was dysfunctional and inconsequential; it is intriguing that over nearly a 200 years period it scarcely improved upon the innovations of its Golden Age of Education that occurred during the first stage of educational reform. Many pieces of educational legislation have been passed as seen in Appendix M-Educational Legislation to 1970. Clearly the Dutch educrats and other pertinent elements of society focussed on elementary and post secondary education, they call this the zig zag development of education in the Netherlands. The only 20th century secondary legislative change, up to 1970, has been the Mammoth Act that was little more than an administrative exercise. Not much can be learned from a system that is so complex that even the teachers do not fully comprehend it. The Dutch seemed to find comfort in the safety zone of traditional education, they found a normalcy in their stagnant system; inertia and tradition mitigated against educational change. Their reactive, piecemeal change was not conducive to pedagogical innovation. No doubt for that reason few English language academics have deemed Dutch education worthy of a closer examination. Dutch education has not been sufficiently addressed because it appeared to lack any momentum for progress. It is hoped however, that this study at least paves the way for future historians to delve deeper into Dutch educational history.

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APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY

APC	General Pedagogic Centre
AVO	General secondary education
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
Certificate	Akte
CPC	Christian Pedagogic Centre
Domestic science	Huishoudkunde
Elementary education	Lager onderwijs
HBS	Modern secondary (grammar)school
Higher technical school	Hogere Technische school
Headmaster's certificate	Hoofdakte
Headmaster	Hoofdmeester
Junior technical training	LagerNijverheidsonderwijs
KPC	Catholic Pedagogic Centre
LBO	Lower vocational education
MAVO	Middle general secondary education
MHO	Secondary commercial school
MMS	Secondary school for girls
MTO	Secondary technical training
M.O. Akte	Advanced teacher's certificate
M.U.L.O.	Extended elementary education
NABS	Dutch Non-denominational Private Schools Council
NKSR	Dutch Catholic Schools Council
NPCS	Dutch Protestant Schools Council
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
O&W	Ministry of Education and Science Onderwijs Education
Pedagogy	Opvoedkunde
Private education	Bijzonder onderwijs
Professor	Hoogleraar
Public education	Openbaar onderwijs

Teacher training	Kweekschool onderwijs
Training	Opleiding
School Teacher	Leraar or onderwijzer
Secondary certificate	Middelbaare Akte
Secondary (grammar) school	Gymnasium
State University	State universities
ULO	Supplementary or extended lementary education
VGLO	Supplementary elementary education
VO	Secondary education
Vocational (professional) training	Beroepsonderwijs
VWO	Pre-university education
WO	University education

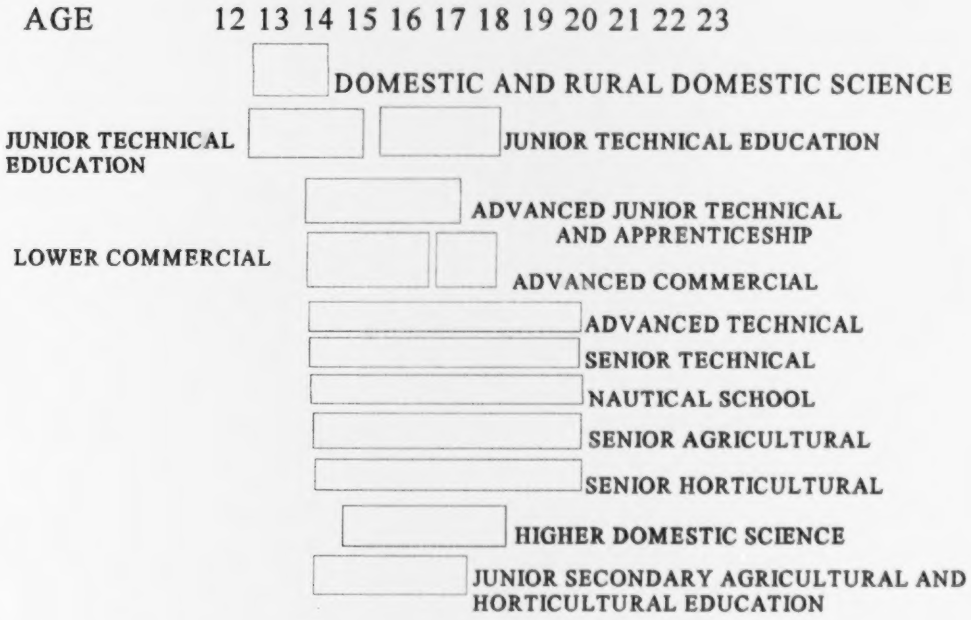
APPENDIX B

SPECIAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

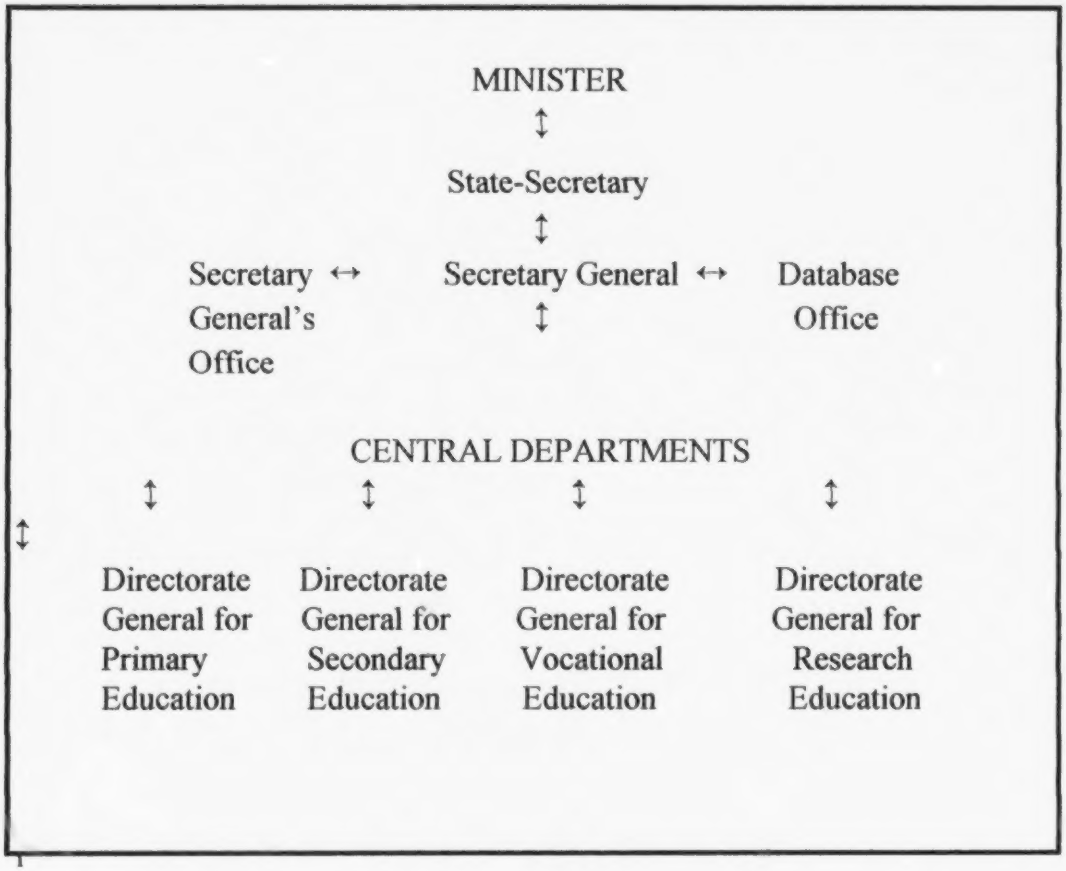
		School Year											
		1931[1]			1946[1]			1951[1]			1959[1]		
		P	**Pr**	**Tot.**	**P**	**Pr**	**Tot.**	**P**	**Pr**	**Tot.**	**P**	**Pr**	**Tot.**
Mentally weak	schools	48	42	90	64	83	147	80	126	206	99	198	297
	pupils	5258	3122	8380	6739	9771	16510	9721	16167	25888	11820	24368	36188
	staff	353	206	559	397	591	988	574	961	1535	727	1479	2206
Deaf & dumb	schools	–	6	6	–	6	6	–	6	6	–	11	11
	pupils	–	849	849	–	924	924	–	1176	1176	–	1373	1373
	staff	–	97	97	–	99	99	–	124	124	–	170	170
Bad Hearing	schools	1	22	3	1	2	3	2	1	3	2	10	12
	pupils	98	133	231	106	139	245	334	164	498	462	800	1262
	staff	7	12	19	8	10	18	25	11	36	38	62	100
Blind & bad sight	schools	–	4	4	–	5	5	–	6	6	–	9	9
	pupils	–	235	235	–	279	278	–	360	360	–	677	677
	staff	–	21	21	–	29	29	–	38	38	–	72	72
Physically handicapped	schools	–	–	–	–	3	3	1	3	4	2	9	11
	pupils	–	–	–	–	104	104	36	149	185	132	521	653
	staff	–	–	–	–	10	10	3	16	19	11	46	57
T.-B. children	schools	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	6	–	18	18
	pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	613	613	–	1028	1028
	staff	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	38	38	–	88	88
Sickly children	schools	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	5	11	8	11	19
	pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	796	350	1146	931	757	1688
	staff	–	–	–	–	–	–	37	17	54	50	38	88
Epileptics	schools	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	2	2
	pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	281	281	–	310	310
	staff	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	19	–	23	23
Backward or difficult children	schools	–	–	–	2	1	3	5	5	10	7	16	23
	pupils	–	–	–	103	185	288	390	315	705	497	896	1393
	staff	–	–	–	7	11	18	26	25	51	42	65	107
Children placed under State Control	schools	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	12	–	18	18
	pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1397	1397	–	1753	1753
	staff	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	64	64	–	96	96
Children in Pedological institutes	schools	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	1	2	3
	pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	193	193	99	197	296
	staff	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	16	9	19	28
Children with other difficulties	schools	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	5	13	21	34
	pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	165	307	472	1091	1853	2944
	staff	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	27	41	85	135	220
Children of barge-crews	schools[2]	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	18	26	8	18	26
	pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	1300	4700	6000	1300	4700	6000
	staff[3]	–	–	–	–	–	–	37	90	127	40	122	162
Itinerant children	schools[2]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	15	18
	pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	600	1400	200
	staff[4]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	67	78
Totals	schools	49	54	103	67	100	167	103	196	299	143	358	501
	pupils	5356	4339	9695	6948	11401	18349	12742	26172	38914	16932	40633	57565
	staff	360	336	696	412	750	1162	716	1446	2162	1013	2482	3495

[1] P = Public; Pr = Private; Tot. = Total. [2] Not including ordinary primary schools to which special classes are attached for children of barge-crews and of itinerants in caravans with temporary domicile. [3] Including teachers in ordinary primary schools with continuous or mooring-place classes. [4] Including teachers in ordinary primary schools with special classes for itinerants.

APPENDIX C
PRE 1968 VOCATIONAL STRUCTURE


AGE
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23
DOMESTIC AND RURAL DOMESTIC SCIENCE
JUNIOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION
JUNIOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION
ADVANCED JUNIOR TECHNICAL AND APPRENTICESHIP
LOWER COMMERCIAL
ADVANCED COMMERCIAL
ADVANCED TECHNICAL
SENIOR TECHNICAL
NAUTICAL SCHOOL
SENIOR AGRICULTURAL
SENIOR HORTICULTURAL
HIGHER DOMESTIC SCIENCE
JUNIOR SECONDARY AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL EDUCATION

APPENDIX D
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION STRUCTURE 1964


MINISTER
State-Secretary
Secretary General's Office
Secretary General
Database Office
CENTRAL DEPARTMENTS
Directorate General for Primary Education
Directorate General for Secondary Education
Directorate General for Vocational Education
Directorate General for Research Education

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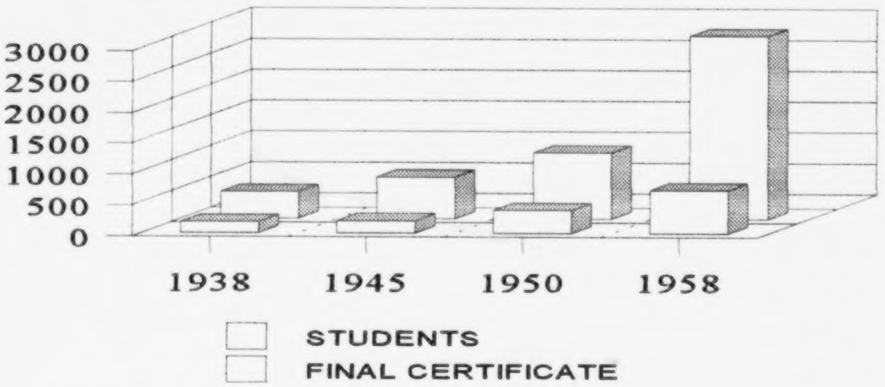
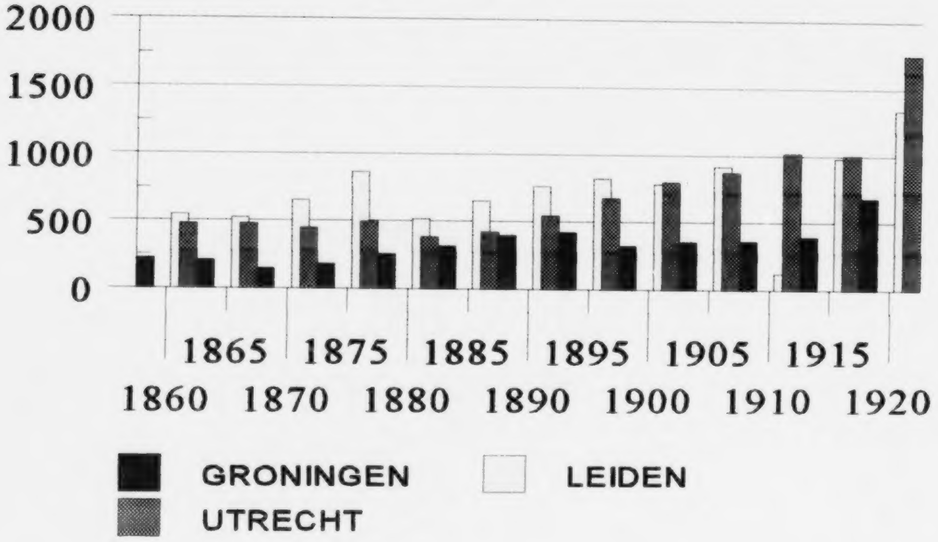
[1]Source: Ministry of Education and Sciences: The Dutch Education System Docinform (1988).

APPENDIX E



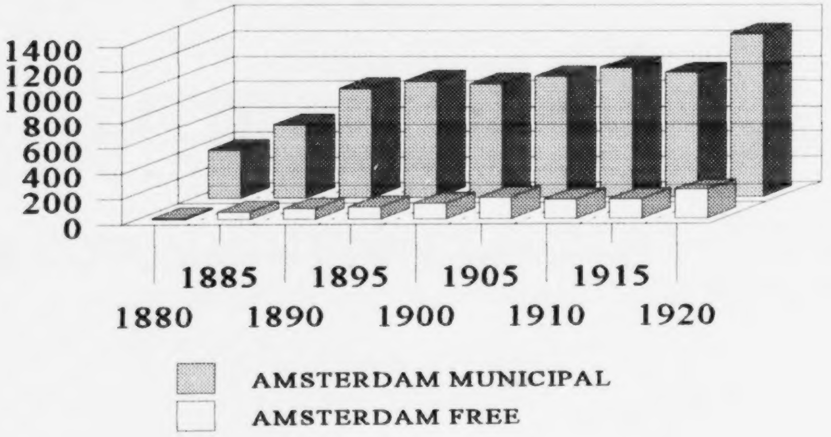
SOCIAL PEDAGOGICAL STUDENTS/
FINAL CERTIFICATES 1938-1958

APPENDIX F



UNIVERSITIES ENROLMENT

1860-1920



UNIVERSITIES ENROLMENT

1880-1920

APPENDIX G
POLITICAL PARTIES I

1879	Anti Revolutionary Party
1882	Social Democratic Bond
1891	Liberal Union
1894	Social Democratic Workers' Party
1896	Christian Historical Union
1897	Roman Catholic State Party
1902	Liberal Democratic Bond
1926	Confessional Christian Democrats

The dates refer to the years the parties were founded.

APPENDIX H

MINISTERS OF EDUCATION

PRE WAR MINISTERS OF EDUCATION 1918 TO 1945

Name	Party	Tenure Dates
J. Th.de Visser	CHU	25 Sept 1918 - 4 August 1925
V.H.Rutgers	ARP	4 August 1925 - 8 March 1926
M.A.M. Waszink	RKP	8 March 1926 - 10 August 1929
J.B.Kan	LIB	10 November 1927 - 31 January 1928[2]
J. Terpstra	ARP	10 August 1929 - 26 May 1933
H.P. Marchant	LIB	26 May 1933 - 18 May 1935
J.R. Slotemaker de Bruine	CHU	18 May 1935 - 25 July 1939
B.J.O. Schrieke	ARP	25 July 1939- 10 Aug. 1939
G. Bolkestein	LIB	10 August 1939 -24 June 1945

POST-WAR MINISTERS OF EDUCATION 1945-

Name	Party	Tenure Dates	
Dr. G. van der Leeuw	PvdA	24-06-1945	3-07-1946
Dr. J.J. Gielen	KVP	3-07-1946	7-08 1948
Dr. F.J. Th. Rutten	KVP	7-08-1948	2-09-1952
Mr. J.M.L. Th. Cals	KVP	2-09-1952	24-07-1963
Mr. Th. H. Bot	KVP	24-07-1963	14-04-1965
Mr. I.A. Diepenhorst	ARP	14-04-1965	5-04-1967
Dr. G.H. Veringa	KVP	5-04-1967	6-07-1971
Mr. C van Veen	CHU	6-07-1971	11-05-1973
Dr. J. A. van Kemenade	PvdA	11-05-1973	19-12-1977
Dr. A. Pais	PvdA	19-12-1977	11-09-1981
Dr. J.A. van Kemenade	PvdA	11-09-1977	29-05-1982
Drs. W.J.Deetman	CDA	29-5-1982	15-9-1989
G.J.M. Braks		15-9-1989	7-11-1989
J.J.M. Ritzen	PvdA	7-11-1989	

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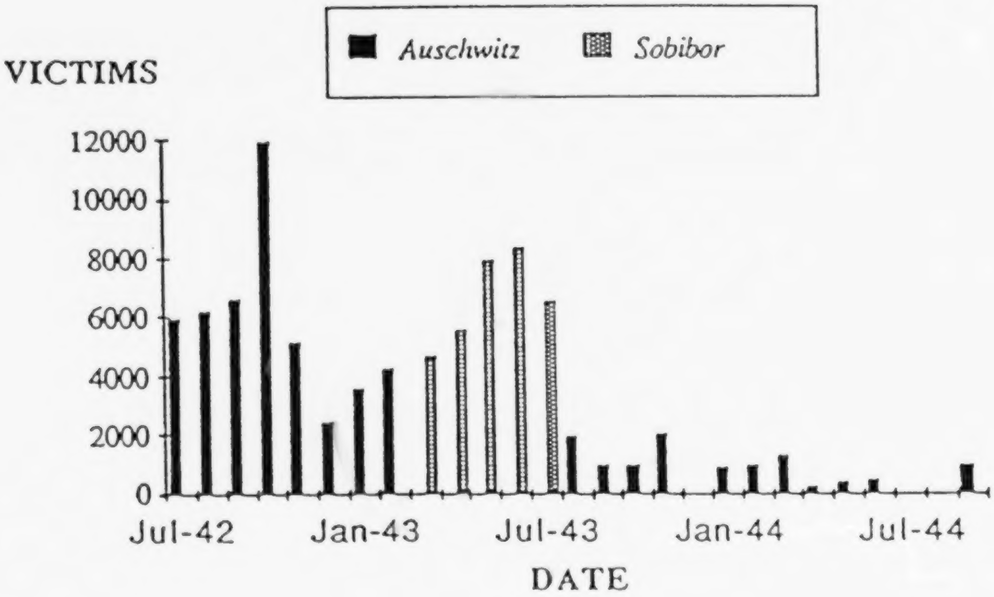
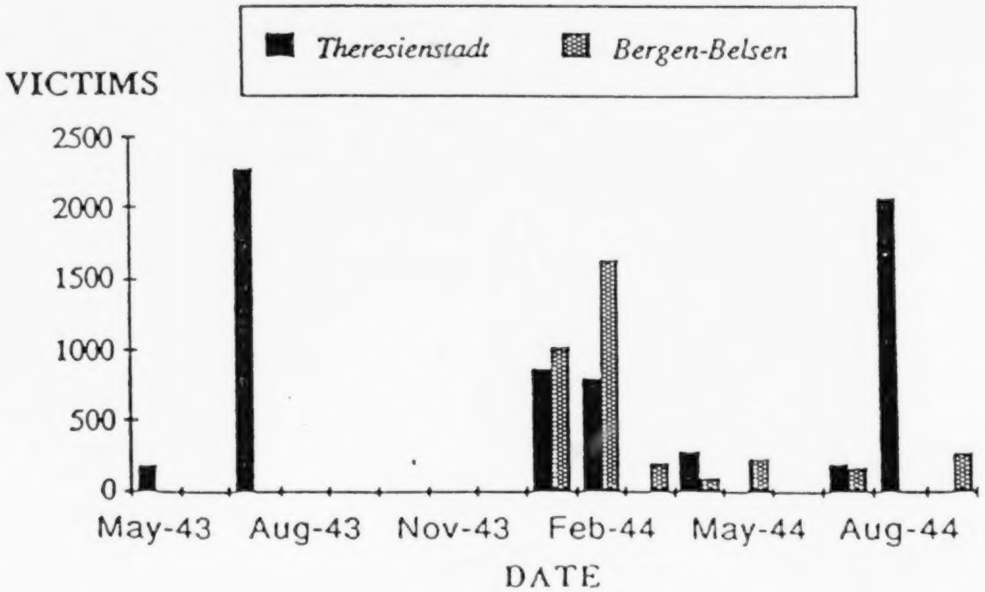
[2] J. B Kan, minister of the interior, added the education ministry to his portfolio to cover for Education Minister Waszink who was ill.

APPENDIX I
JEWISH VICTIMS 1942-1944





APPENDIX J
CLOSURES OF POST SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS 1941-1944

Leiden

closed 27 Nov -30 April 1941
open 30 Apr-19 Nov 1941 for exams
closed 19 November 1941
17 September 1945 resumed operations

Utrecht

officially not closed
March 1944 Senate decided not to resume classes
24 September 1945 resumed operations

Groningen

officialy not closed
6 Feb. 1943 classes not given - on strike
5 May 1943 no lectures or exams
23 June resumed operations

Amsterdam Municipal

officially not closed
7 Feb 1943 closed on own initiative
12 May 1943 Nazis forced it to reopen for June classes
After 17 Jan. 1944 impossible to give classes due to war deprivation
17 September 1945 resumed operations

Amsterdam Free University

officially not closed
13 April 1943 own initiative to close, no classes whatsoever
20 June 1945 resumed operations

Nijmegen

officially not closed
10 Feb. 1943 no lectures but exams provided
9 April 1943 no exams or promotions (a Senate decree)
28 October 1944 exams and promotions resumed
12 March 1945 resumed operations

Delft (Technical Higher School)

27 Nov. 1940 officially closed
Apr. 1941 resumed operations
26 March 1943 closed
June 1943 resumed operations
19 June 1944 closed by Senate decree
5 Sept. 1944 closed
25 May 1945 closed by Military Occupational Forces
17 September 1945 resumed operations

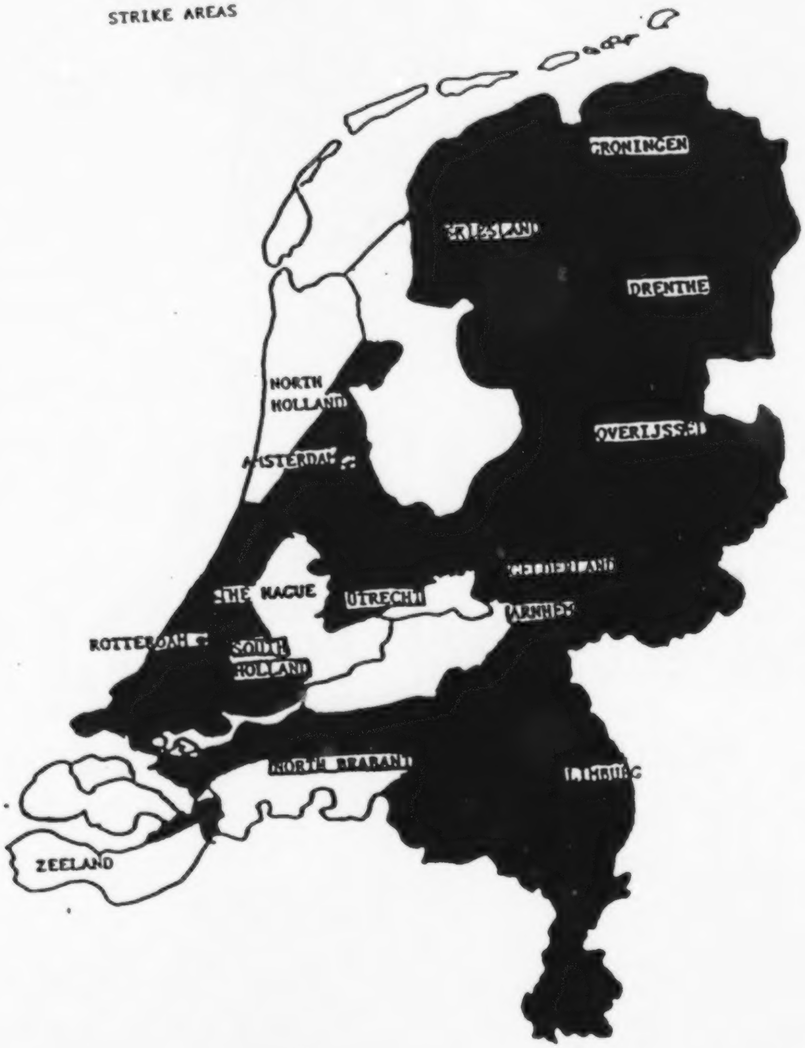
Wageningen
officially not closed
June 1944-21 Aug. 1945 no classes
25 Aug. 1945 resumed operations

Source: Annual Report 1944, 45, 46 78-79.

APPENDIX K
EXTENT OF APRIL/MAY STRIKE 1943

APPENDIX L

STRIKE AREAS


GRONINGEN
FRIESLAND
DRENTHE
NORTH HOLLAND
OVERIJSSEL
AMSTERDAM
GELDERLAND
THE HAGUE
UTRECHT
ARNHEM
ROTTERDAM
SOUTH HOLLAND
NORTH BRABANT
LIMBURG
ZEELAND

APPENDIX L

NETHERLANDS WAR CASUALTIES AND VICTIMS

Military Victims	4,570
Mercantile Marine	1,492
Victims of bombardments	20,400
Victims of declining public health	65,000
Executions and summary justice	2,000
Hunger Winter 1944/45	20,000
Prisoners of war	258
Missing	500
Forced labour	10,000
Jewish victims	104,000
TOTAL ABOUT	240,000

Source: Richardson, 181.

APPENDIX M
EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION TO 1970

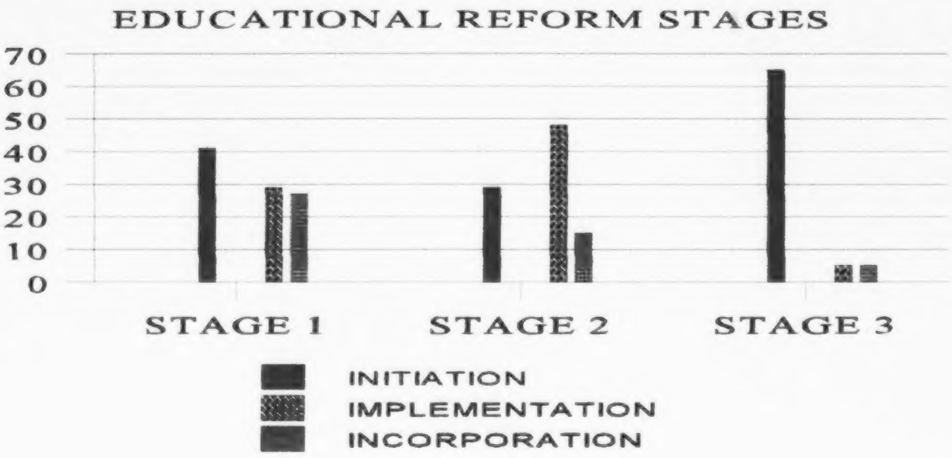
PRE SCHOOL LEGISLATION
1955 Pre-Primary Education Act

ELEMENTARY LEGISLATION
1801 Elementary Education Act
1803 Elementary Education Act
1806 Elementary Education Act
1857 Elementary Education Act
1889 Elementary Education Act
1920 Primary Education Act

SECONDARY LEGISLATION
1837 Secondary Education Act
1863 Secondary Education Act
1963 Secondary Education Act

HIGHER (POST SECONDARY) LEGISLATION
1876 Higher Education Act
1887 Higher Education Act
1960 University Administration Act 1960
1961 University Education Act (replaced Higher Education Act 1876)
1970 University Administration Reform Act

APPENDIX N



STAGE 1: Initiation 1760
Implementation 1801
Incorporation 1830-1857

STAGE II: Initiation 1829
Implementation 1857
Incorporation 1905-1920

STAGE III: Initiation 1898
Implementation 1963
Incorporation 1974

APPENDIX O
POLITICAL PARTIES II

1945	PvdA (Labour)	← SDAP ← CDU ← VVD
1946	PvdV (Liberal)	FREEDOM PARTY
1948	VVD	Folks party for freedom and democracy, formerly PvdV

The dates indicate the year the parties were established.